CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

[Chua SoiLek (CSL), debating with Lim Guan Eng (LGE) on the issue of national education policy]

CSL: That Lim Guan Eng's government is a fake one if he can promise everybody got education. It is a fake one.It's a sham. I can tell you.

The example above illustrates the nature of this study; impoliteness in Malaysian political debates. Political debates are a new scenario in Malaysian politics. Hence, there are no set rules or guidelines to be followed. All the debates chosen in this study occur before the 13th General Election (GE), so one of the main agenda of the debaters is to garner votes. In other countries where Parliamentary debates are common, as Harris (2001, p. 455) notes; based on the history and shared experience of the House of Commons as a community of practice, Parliamentary debates are subject to sets of both formal and informal 'rules'. As such, in Malaysian political debates, the main concern is to put forward the ideas that are represented by the political party the debater is attached to. Despite the fact that debaters' debate with a set of message to be conveyed which may change according to the topic of debate, linguistically, these debates are setting the scenes in terms of the expectations of Malaysians.

This chapter has six sections. They consist ofthe statement of problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitations of the study and a summary.

1.1 Background of study

Ever since Malaysia has gained its independence in 1957, BarisanNasional (BN) has been the ruling government. The role of the Opposition was not acknowledged due to the dominance of BN (Omar, 2008). The Parliament has been dominated by BN with almost constant two-thirds majority in general elections (Omar, 2008). However, the 12th GE changed the political landscape of Malaysia. The Opposition won 46.75% votes, making it the biggest ever victory since the country's independence. In fact, the electoral success of the Opposition in the 12[th]GE is said to be due to the role of the Internet (Rajaratnam, 2009; MohdSani and Zengeni, 2010; Suffian, 2008;Ndoma and Tumin, 2011 and Weiss, 2012). By the 2013 GE, most members of the BarisanNasional Party have created Facebook and Twitter accounts (Gomez, 2014).With this in mind, the politicians are now more open to the idea of debate albeit it being a slow and gradual change.

In 2012, The Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Abdul Razak's response to an open debate with the Opposition leader, Datuk Seri Anwar has been that debates are not part of the political culture in Malaysia (Syazwan, 2012). However, due to the effect of social media and especially taking into consideration that the 13th GE was just around the corner, a number of politicians from both sides, the ruling party as well as the Opposition answered the call from the public for an open debate. As such, linguistically, these debates are setting the trend, of what can be expected from Malaysian political debates especially in the area of impoliteness.

1.2 Statement of Problem

With regard to impoliteness, there is an enormous imbalance in academic interest between the politeness phenomena and the impoliteness phenomena (Locher and Bousfield, 2008). Watts (2003, p.xi) notes that his bibliographic collection on politeness "contains roughly 1,200 titles and is growing steadily week by week." Its counterpart, impoliteness, on the other hand, "has merely crawled forward" (Locher and Bousfield, 2008, p. 2). The present study is undertaken to get a better understanding of impoliteness, "the long neglected 'poor cousin' of politeness" (ibid.).

The term impoliteness itself is much discussed by researchers. Tracy (2008) argues that the term 'impolite' is too gentle a term and proposes the usage of the term 'face – attack' instead. Similarly, in the literature of the previous studies, there are other terms used, such as "intentionally and negatively confrontational" (Lakoff 1989), "marked rudeness" (Terkourafi, 2008), rudeness (Beebe, 1995), "aggression" (Baron and Richardson, 1994), and "hurt" "emotional pain" (Vangelisti 2007). As indicated in the study by Lakoff (1989), non – polite and rude are labels used to indicate impoliteness. Following this, other studies carried out have used a variety of terms to refer to impoliteness as shown below:

- *Impolite(ness)* (e.g. Leech,1983; Blum – Kulka,1987; Culpeper,1996; Kienpointner,1997; Spencer – Oatey,2000; Harris,2001; Eelen,2001; Watts, 2003; Mills,2003; Locher, 2004; Bousfield and Locher, 2008)

- *Rude (ness)* (e.g. Brown &Levinson,1987; Spencer- Oatey,2000; Lakoff,1989; Tracy,2008; Kasper, 1990; Beebe, 1995; Kienpointner, 1997)

- *Aggravation, aggravated/ aggravating language/ facework* (e.g. Blum – Kulka, 1987; Lachenicht, 1980; Craig et al., 1986) (also aggravated impoliteness, Rudanko, 2006)

(Culpeper, 2011, p. 76)

As demonstrated in the previous studies, the term impolite(ness) and rude (ness) are most commonly used. Culpeper (2011) uses corpus based analysis which shows the term impolite to match the general understanding of the definitions of impoliteness as compared to the term rude. Due to this, the term 'impoliteness' and 'impolite' will be used in the current study.

In Malaysian context, political debates and impoliteness are areas which need to be further analysed in order to foster a better understanding. With this in mind, the current study is undertaken.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

There are two objectives in this study. The primary objective of the study is to identify impoliteness strategies used by the debaters in the three political debates. The impoliteness strategies will be analysed based on conventionalised and non–conventionalised impoliteness by Culpeper (2011). The patterns that emerge from the analysis of impoliteness strategies will also be discussed. The second objective is to analyse response options to impoliteness in the debates. How debaters respond to impoliteness will be examined based on the framework by Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (2003).

Both objectives are interrelated. Response options can be analysed only after impoliteness has been identified. Hence, the identification of impoliteness strategies enables the analysis of response options. Besides, one of the ways to gain a better understanding of impoliteness is by looking at the responses (Dobs and Blitvich, 2013). Therefore, response options provide a better understanding of the occurrence of impoliteness and both are interrelated.

1.4 Research Questions

There are two research questions in this study.

1. What impoliteness strategies are used in the three Malaysian political debates?

This research question aims to investigate the types of impoliteness strategies used in the three political debates. It aims to analyse the emerging pattern from the analysis of impoliteness strategies.

2. How do debaters respond to impoliteness from their opponents?

This research questions aims to analyse the response options used by debaters in the political debates in responding to impoliteness. Therefore, based on the impoliteness strategies revealed in the debates, response options will be analysed.

1.5 Significance of Study

This study contributes to the research of impoliteness, particularly in the area of Malaysian political debates. Hence, this study presents a venue for impoliteness to be analysed in the Malaysian culture. At the heart of impoliteness, lays values and norms (Mills, 2009). Values and norms differ from a culture to another and what is considered impolite in one may not be considered so in another. Malaysians have values and norms which is unique to the nation and its people. In carrying out this study, an opportunity to further understand impoliteness through the values and norms practised in Malaysia will arise. In the past, in relation to the studies conducted in the area of impoliteness, as to my knowledge, few have involved the Malaysian context. As context plays an influential role in determining impoliteness (Culpeper 2011), what is considered impolite in Malaysian context can offer useful insights especially to subsequent studies which revolve around a similar context.

In addition, the area of political debate in Malaysia is an emerging trend. The current study provides insights into the impoliteness strategies; in terms of the preferred strategies and response options. Personally, an understanding of these strategies will further enhance my understanding of impoliteness.

Lastly, the notion of impoliteness is touched in leading politeness theories, but, the problem is; "in practice they all focus solidly on politeness, with the result that their comments on impoliteness are descriptively inadequate and often conceptually biased" (Bousfield, 2008, p.71). This is not the case with the current study. This study focuses solely on impoliteness and hopes to contribute to the existing literature.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the study

In terms of scope, the present study looks at impoliteness strategies and response options in three Malaysian political debates. The impoliteness strategies are analysed based on the framework by Culpeper (2011) whereas the response options are analysed based on the framework by Culpeper et al. (2003).

There are two limitations in the study. Firstly, the data consists of three political debates. More debates could not be included as there are only three political debates in English. One of the three debates, however, uses both English and Malay. Due to the limited availability, more debates could not be included. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, debate is a new phenomenon in the Malaysian politics. all the three debates occurred prior to the 13th General Elections.

Secondly, the data used for this study are audio visual recordings of debates which are obtained from You Tube. Therefore, there are times when facial expressions are not

captured and speech becomes unclear due to interruptions from audience (laughter, clapping, and shouting). However, these do not occur frequently.

Taking the limitation of the study into consideration, the scope of this study is limited to verbal impoliteness. Non- verbal signs and gestures are not included mainly because the video recording of the debates tend to focus on the debater who is speaking at a particular time, so it's not possible to view the non – verbal responses to impoliteness.

Due to the limited scope of this study, the findings do not generalize across all political debates in Malaysia or elsewhere.

1.7 Definition of key terms

This research focuses on impoliteness in Malaysian political debates. In this study, impoliteness occurs when the speaker is perceived to have verbally communicated to cause face damage to the opponent by the researcher in a manner which does not conform to the expectation held in a situated context. Political debate is defined as discussion involving opposing points in the area of politics (Blas-Arroyo, 2003). Based on the impoliteness strategies, response options will be analysed. Response option discusses choices of reaction to impoliteness (Bousfield, 2008).The term "conventionalised impoliteness" refers to verbal expressions (such as most swear words) which are considered impolite in all but very narrow and specific contexts (Culpeper, 2011). Lastly, "non-conventionalised impoliteness" is instances of impoliteness which require interpretation in particular contexts (Culpeper, 2011).

1.8 Summary

In general, impoliteness in Malaysian political debates is an area which needs much attention as debate is a new phenomenon in the culture of Malaysian politics.

There are five chapters in this study. As shown above, the first chapter discusses the main outline of the study. Issues such as purpose, objective and significance of study are discussed. This is followed by the second chapter which provides insights of the work done in the area of impoliteness, response options and political debates. Following this, the third chapter discusses the methodology of this study. Important features like the instrument, theoretical framework and data collection are inspected. The forth chapter is concerning the results and discussions of the study. Lastly, the fifth chapter outlines conclusions, implications of the study and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The literature review aims to discuss theoretical knowledge and findings of past studies conducted in the areas of impoliteness, response options and political debates. This chapter has been divided into few sections, namely; the notion of impoliteness, review of impoliteness theories, discussion on previous studies conducted in the area of impoliteness, responses to impoliteness, political debates and lastly, summary of the literature review.

2.1 The notion of impoliteness

Under this section, the definition of impoliteness will be discussed, followed by the concept of face and lastly a discussion on evaluation of impoliteness.

2.1.1 Definition of impoliteness

Locher and Bousfield (2008, p. 3) conclude that "there is no solid agreement in the chapters as to what "impoliteness" actually is". Listed below are some examples of definitions of impoliteness:

- Impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates face attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2). (Culpeper, 2005, p. 38)

- ...verbal impoliteness [is] linguistic behaviour assessed by the hearer as threatening his or her face or social identity, and infringing the norms of

appropriate behaviours that prevail in particular contexts and among particular interlocutors, whether intentionally or not. (Holmes et al., 2008, p. 196)

- *impoliteness* occurs when the expression used is not conventionalised relative to the context of occurrence; it threatens the addressee's face (and, through that, the speaker's face) but no face-threatening intention is attributed to the speaker by the hearer (Terkourafi, 2008, p. 70)

As can be observed from the definitions above, both Culpeper (2003) and Terkourafi (2008) places importance on both the hearer and the speaker in defining impoliteness whereas Holmes (2008) believes it is the hearer who interprets the occurrence of impoliteness. Apart from the definitions of impoliteness above, researchers have defined impoliteness in different ways (Kienpointner, 1997; Beebe, 1995; Culpeper, 2011). Despite the difference in defining impoliteness, Locher and Bousfield (2008, p. 3) agree that the lowest denominator is: "Impoliteness is behaviour that is face–aggravating in a particular context".

In the current study which revolves around impoliteness in Malaysian political debates, the definition of impoliteness adopted is; impoliteness occurs when the speaker is perceived to have verbally communicated to cause face damage to the opponent by the researcher in a manner which does not conform to the expectation held in a situated context. Two central ideas in the definition are the concept of face and evaluation of impoliteness which will be discussed in the following sections.

2.1.2 Concept of face in impoliteness

The concept of face is central to the discussion of impoliteness. Even though the term impoliteness may differ between studies; preferring terms such as aggression (Archer, 2008), rudeness (Spencer – Oatey, 2000), and abusive language (Lachenicht, 1980), the concept of face is always mentioned. In fact, most definitions of impoliteness or

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rudeness share the same similarity of including the concept of face such as face threatening act (FTA), face–attack, face, self–image (Locher and Bousfield, 2008; Beebe, 1995, Culpeper, 2003, 2005 and Terkourafi, 2008). The starting point of face can be traced back to Goffman (1967). Face is defined as:

> The positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes.

> (Goffman ,1967, p. 5)

It is from Goffman (1967) that the concept of face emerged and was theorized in the Politeness Theory as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987, p.61). This theory is centralized around the concept of face and divided into positive and negative face. Positive face is regarded as the individual's desire to be appreciated and negative face refers to the desire of an individual to be unimpeded by others. In another words, positive face is "the positive and consistent image people have of the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, and rights to non -distraction" (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p.61). Face threatening act (FTA) is also another element in understanding the connection between face and politeness (Eelen, 2001). Though Brown and Levinson's (1978) (B& L hereafter) work has acquired immense influence, their work remains to be one that is constantly revised and criticized.

The concept of face is closely tied with politeness research. As B & L's work is contested, the concept of face underwent significant exploration. Two major issues arise from the theory. One is that the theory is ethnocentric, in that it is applicable only from a 'western' perspective in interaction (Matsumoto, 1988). The idea of face in B & L have created "the impression that face is *a priori attribute* of individuals that stands to be threatened in interaction, and must above all be safeguarded" (Terkourafi, 2007, p.

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320). Culturally, for example, in Matsumoto's (1988, 1989, 1993) work on linguistic politeness in Japanese, she has put forward the idea that in Japanese culture, the concept of negative face is 'alien' and therefore cannot be applied to analyse impoliteness with regard to the Japanese culture. She asserts that Japanese people do not try to avoid imposing on others, but make statements that might be perceived, by a non–Japanese, as an imposition, in order to acknowledge the addressee's higher rank (Matsumoto, 1988:410). Therefore, in Japanese culture, it is difficult to validate negative face. There are also a number of other studies which have argued B & L's theory from the perspective of culture (De Kadt, 1998; Gu, 1990).

Another issue surrounding face is that the concept of face should be a focus on its own, as it revolves around issues wider than politeness (Arundale, 2006; Spencer – Oatey, 2005). This leads to Spencer – Oatey's (2005, 2007) Rapport Management Theory which includes the building of rapport in other domains such as participation, discourse and style. Spencer–Oatey (2007) has also pointed out how positive face can be attributed differently by different people. She gives an example of secondary school children who view defying rules and cultural values as a form of positive face (Spencer – Oatey, 2007). Being studious, hardworking, wanting to please parents and teachers are seen as 'uncool' and will be considered negative. Therefore, 'face is not confined to the immediate aspects of an individual's self (e.g. abilities, disposition, appearance), but includes all that the self identifies with (e.g. family, school, possessions)' (Culpeper, 2011, p.25).

Hence, in the current study, impoliteness occurs when there is face damage caused by the opponents which translate not only to the debater per se, but any negative remarks either regarding their own abilities as leaders or the institution they represent can be seen as impoliteness. Each of the debaters also represents a collective group. The

collective group can be the political party they are attached to, the posts they hold as well as the achievements and lack of it. This is in line with Tracy (1990) who argues that even as individuals, people want to be linked and are dependant, or in some cases, caught between their individualism and collectivism. Such examples can be seen in politics because collectively a politician is seen as part of the political party they represent, but this does not transcend into agreeing to all the policies and not having an individual stand regarding certain issues.

2.1.3 Evaluation of impoliteness

In everyday practice (im)politeness occurs not so much when the speaker produces behaviour but rather when the hearer evaluates that behaviour...the very essence of (im)politeness lies in this evaluative moment. Whether it involves hearers evaluating speakers, speakers evaluating themselves, or informants evaluating hypothetical speakers or utterances, the evaluative moment is always present. Indeed, in practice it proves to be the only way in which (im)politeness can be studied. Evaluations is thus the basic, primordial mode of being of (im)politeness.

(Eelen, 2001, p. 109)

As discussed by Eelen (2001), a growing number of studies in the area of impoliteness research are placing their focus on evaluation (Eelen, 2001; Haugh, 2007b; Locher and Watts, 2005; Mills, 2003; Spencer–Oatey, 2005 and Watts, 2003). Simultaneously, there is also a question of whose evaluation of impoliteness will be analysed; the speaker, hearer, or the analyst? Bousfield (2008) proposes that in order to evaluate interaction, going beyond a speaker–hearer model of interaction is paramount. More aspects need to be taken into consideration such as the footings and roles of all the

participants and if impoliteness occurs, then to whom it is impolite are aspects which a researcher need to bear in mind during im/polite analysis (Bousfield, 2008, p.174 – 175). It is also important to note that chances of variability in evaluating impoliteness do exist mainly due to the fact that evaluations of im/politeness are "acquired through socialisation" (Watts, 2003, p. 149). Since everyone has their own personal history of socialisation, the same applies to evaluation of impoliteness which is not necessarily the same between individuals and this brings to the importance of taking social practice into considerations when analysing impoliteness.

Goffman (1981) believes in analysing im/politeness as social practice, it is necessary to go beyond a simplistic speaker–hearer model of communication to a broader participation framework. Before going into social practice, Schatzi (2001, p. 11) has defined social practice as, "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organised around shared practical understanding". The concept of taking social practice into consideration allows researchers to locate or understand interaction from a wider circle. Social practice involves "elements that make up what could be called a "social worldview" (e.g. notions of right and wrong, of good and bad, of social worth, and so on (Eelen, 1999, p.164). Our social views are grounded in moral order which refers to what interactants "know relative to others, what they are entitled to know, and what they are entitled to describe or communicate" (Heritage, 2009, p. 309). It is argued that in our evaluation of im/politeness, moral order place a role. This is in line with what Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2012) term as "deontic order", which refers to what interactants think is "obligatory, permissible, or forbidden"(p.299).

Therefore, in evaluating instances of impoliteness, Kädär and Haugh (2013) believes social actions and meanings, moral order and interpersonal evaluations all play a role as demonstrated in Figure 2.1
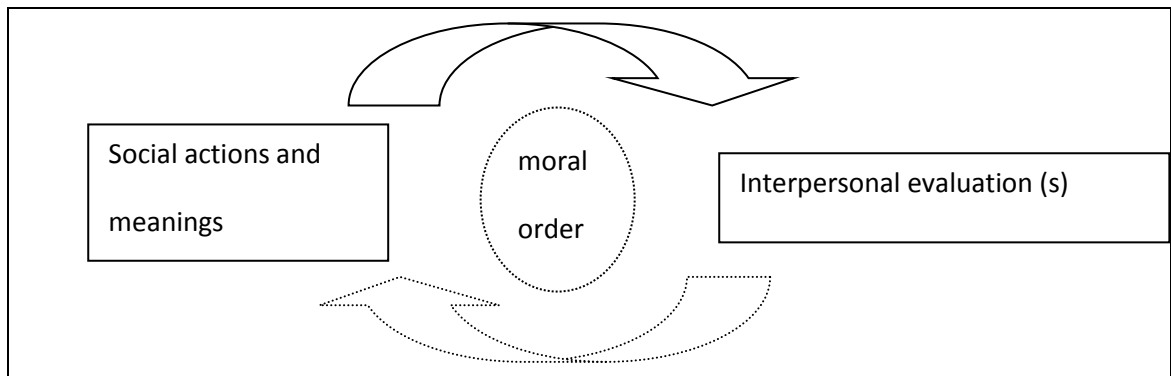
Figure 2.1 Im/politeness evaluations as social practice

(Kädär and Haugh, 2013, p.73)

Kädär and Haugh (2013) believe evaluation of im/politeness is determined by social actions and pragmatic meanings, moral order and interpersonal evaluations. These three factors can ultimately be categorised as a form of social practice (Kädär and Haugh, 2013). Social practice is defined as ways in which persons as social beings are "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding", which constitute a "field of practice" across groups, institutions, societies and so on (Schtazki, 2001: 11). Therefore, the term 'acceptable social practice' refers to what constitutes as norm in particular groups, institutions and societies. Thus, an acceptable social practice in a group or institution may be unacceptable in another. The term 'acceptable social practice' is a concept which has been used in theorising im/politeness (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003, Watts, 2003). In understanding im/politeness, it is important to take what is considered as acceptable social practice into account as it involves constituting persons and relationships as an ongoing "arrays of activity". In focusing on acceptable social practice, evaluation of im/politeness will provide a clearer picture on the interactional achievement of a particular discourse. In relation to this study, evaluation and analysis of impoliteness will take into account the acceptable social practices of political debates in Malaysia.

2.2 Review of impoliteness theories

Culpeper's (1996) paper 'Towards an anatomy of impoliteness', has been widely quoted and the framework has been tested in various discourses (Lauer, 1996; Bousfield, 1999; Cashman, 2006). Nevertheless, it should be noted that Lachenicht's (1980) work provides a similar framework and covers similar territory (Bousfield, 2008). Due to this, Turner (1996, p.7) refers to Lachenicht's contribution as "rarely cited but nevertheless meritorious". Therefore, it can be concluded that the development of impoliteness theories can be traced back from Lachenicht's work in 1980. Apart from Lachenicht (1980) and Culpeper (1996), Austin (1990) has also produced a similar framework. The similarity between the three researchers arises due to the fact that their work is based on the framework by Brown and Levinson (1987). Therefore, as these three frameworks are based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework, "weaknesses associated with their model tend to be inherited" (Bousfield, 2008, p.87). One of the criticisms regarding the framework by Austin (1990) is she has overlooked the role of speaker in the interpretation and perception of impoliteness (Bousfield, 2008). With regard to Lachenicht's (1980) model, it has been argued that the paper is an essay on constructivism but not an analysis "subject to trial and revision by the data that are collected" (Turner, 1996, p. 7). Likewise, in the area of impoliteness, especially in recent years, many research papers have discussed the notion of impoliteness constructively, but research papers which provides an analysis of impoliteness based on a theoretical framework, has often relied on Culpeper's (1996, 2003, 2011) frameworks. With this in mind, in subsequent paragraphs, each of this framework will be discussed.

In one of his earliest work, Culpeper (1996) came up with a framework for impoliteness which runs parallel but opposite to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness (Culpeper, 2011). This framework was adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987) and

was applied to analyse the impoliteness that occur during army training and literary drama (Culpeper, 1996). There are two parts to the framework; the first being the one adapted from Brown and Levinson's framework and the second is the positive impoliteness output strategies (ignore, dissasociate, be disinterested, etc) and negative impoliteness output strategies (frighten, invade, etc). Culpeper (1996) lays out five super strategies that speakers use to make impolite utterances in his initial theoretical framework. They include:

1. Bald on record impoliteness: performing the FTA (Face Threatening Act) in a direct, clear, unambiguous, and concise way even when face considerations are relevant.

2. Positive Impoliteness: strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants.

3. Negative Impoliteness: strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants.

4. *Sarcasm or mock politeness:* performing the FTA with politeness strategies that are obviously insincere.

5. Withhold politeness: Not performing politeness work where it is expected.

(Culpeper, 1996, p. 355)

A number of studies have employed Culpeper's (1996) framework. Among these are the studies by Lauer (1996) who looked at impoliteness in complaint letters and Culpeper (1996), who analysed the impolite illocutions in U.S. army training discourse, to name a few. These studies added a few strategies and generally concluded that his framework "give adequate analysing power across both verbal and written data from real life situations (Bousfield, 2008, p. 90).

As Culpeper's (1996) framework is in line with Brown and Levinson (1987), one of the criticisms surrounding his model is that it is "explicitly open–ended" (Bousfield, 2008,

p. 91). By being explicitly open-ended, it is argued that "there is really no clear, distinct or motivated way of restricting the number of strategies in the model" (Bousfield, 2008, p. 91).

Culpeper (2005, p. 40) has improvised on his model by the "adoption of a more contextually and culturally sensitive model of face". He adopted Spencer-Oatey's approach of rapport management. However, as Cashman (2006, p. 91) says, "Culpeper (2005) still refers to the original B & L's 5-point model and does not fully integrate Spencer-Oatey's approach within his own". Mills (2005) pointed out a weakness in Culpeper's (1996, 2005) model. She argues that impoliteness is not necessarily perceived as impolite if the norms of a Community of Practice permit offensive face-attacks (Mills, 2005, p. 270). Following comments and criticisms (Bousfield, 2008; Dynel, 2012), in his subsequent works, Culpeper (2003, 2011) develops the second part (positive and negative output impoliteness strategies) into conventionalised and non–conventionalised impoliteness (Culpeper 2011).

Culpeper's (2011) latest framework has outlined impoliteness strategies into conventionalised and non-conventionalised impoliteness. His conventionalised impoliteness framework examines how impoliteness is manifested through conventional expressions, such as insults, threats, pointed criticism, unpalatable question and presuppositions, threats, dismissal, condescensions, message enforcers, silencers and expressive (ibid.). Each of this impoliteness strategy has a set of formula (Refer to pg 30). On the other hand, non-conventionalised impoliteness requires interpretation of an utterance in a particular context (ibid.). Under non-conventionalised, there are three impoliteness strategies, namely, form-driven, convention-driven and context-driven.

In the current study, Culpeper's (2011) framework will be used to analyse impoliteness strategies in the debates. This framework is chosen as it is his most current framework

and the result of improvisation from his previous frameworks. Therefore, this framework is deemed to be most suitable to analyse the data from the political debates.

2.3 Impoliteness in past studies

Bousfield (2008) and Lorenzo-Dus (2009) have analysed impoliteness by utilising data from media discourse. Bousfield (2008) uses the data from television programmes, namely The Clampers, Soldiers To Be, Redcaps, Motorway Life, Raw Blues, Parking Wars and Boiling Point. In analysing his data, Bousfield (2008) uses Culpeper's (2003) framework and found most instances of impoliteness in his data to match the impoliteness strategies in Culpeper's (2003) framework. Lorenzo – Dus (2009) carries out a study using confrontational discourse. He investigates impoliteness in a British television show called Dragon's Den which is analysed based on Culpeper's (1996) and Culpeper et al.'s (2003) frameworks, as well as Bousfield's (2008) refinement to the framework (Lorenzo – Dus, 2009). The result of the analysis reveals a similarity between "contexts involving interaction between 'experts' (e.g., the dragons, presenters, army camp trainers, celebrity chefs) and 'laity' (e.g., contestants, army cadets, and apprentice chefs)" (Lorenzo – Dus, 2009: 173). Therefore, Culpeper's (1996) (2003) frameworks have been proven to be applicable in these two sets of data from media discourse.

Culpeper's (2003) framework is used in the analysis of case studies of emotionally charged argument sequences (Kienpointner, 2008). His study shows that sometimes, "even fallacious arguments involving positive emotions such as pity can be formulated in an impolite way" (Kienpointner, 2008).

Apart from media and emotionally charged argument discourse, impoliteness has also been looked at in classic and contemporary literature (Culpeper, 1996; Rudanko, 2006).

Culpeper (1996) applies his framework to analyse a passage from *Macbeth* in which different impoliteness strategies have been used. Similarly, Rudanko (2006) analysed an episode in Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* by using notions of first order and second order speaker intentions.

Bousfield (2008) extends Culpeper's (1996, 2003) framework to include a trigger, progression and resolution of spoken interactional exchanges. He suggests impoliteness to be analysed in terms of - (1) how impolite containing exchanges are triggered, (2) how they pan out, and (3) how they come to some form of resolution (Bousfield, 2007, p. 2185). He combined Culpeper's (1996, 2003) frameworks with the notion of 'trigger' in investigating the data from army training, disputes between car owners and traffic wardens and exchanges between staff in a restaurant kitchen (Bousfield, 2007, p. 2185). Similarly, In the Malaysian context, Goh (2014) has analysed data from radio prank calls using Bousfield's notion of triggering, progression and ending of impoliteness. Her study concludes that impoliteness needs to be triggered and it has an ending. However, in both studies, the data does not involve contexts in which participants are allocated longer speaking time, for example drama or political discourse, in which locating a particular utterance as trigger, progression, and end will be complex.

On the other hand, a growing number of studies emphasise the importance of having participants determining impoliteness in interactions as opposed to relying solely on any particular framework (Cashman, 2006; Mills, 2003; Haugh, 2013, Upadhyay, 2010, Culpeper, 2011). In a study on impoliteness and disagreement by Shum and Lee (2013), in two Hong Kong internet discussion forums, participants are asked to rate the disagreement or impoliteness on a 5–point Likert scale followed by a follow up interview. Interestingly, Shum and Lee (2013) uses Culpeper's (1996) framework, abandoning his more updated version of framework on the ground that his earliest framework is simpler. The findings of this research are supplemented with

"metapragmatic knowledge and statistical analysis of 30 respondents..., a method which is rarely used" (Shum and Lee, 2013: 71). Another type of data which also have taken participants' point of view in the construction of impoliteness is Cashman's (2006) study on bilingual code-switching sequences. She uses interviews to elicit the participants' evaluation of the interaction (Cashman, 2006). Apart from Culpeper's (1996, 2003) frameworks, Cashman's study also categorises impoliteness according to Spencer – Oatey's (2002) concept of rapport management. Under each classification, examples of impoliteness are provided using Culpeper's (1996, 2003) frameworks. Apart from impoliteness, Cashman's study also looks at response strategies which are adapted from Culpeper. Taking participants' point of view in determining impoliteness has been regarded as an important factor. As Haugh (2010) puts it, evaluations of impoliteness cannot be made without taking into account the identities attributed to the person in account. More recent studies are placing importance in including participants' perception to be taken into account in analysing impoliteness.

In Culpeper's (2011) recent study, he incorporated participants evaluations of impoliteness by distributing report forms to over 1000 students for instances of impoliteness. Based on their instances of impoliteness, the data was then analysed based on Culpeper's latest framework (2011), namely conventionalised and non-conventionalised impoliteness. In comparison, studies employing Culpeper's (2011) latest framework is lesser compared to his previous frameworks.

2.4 Responses to impoliteness

Researchers in the field of impoliteness enhance their understanding of participants' evaluation of impoliteness through following up with interview or survey (Cashman, 2006; Shum and Lee, 2013). However, Dobs and Blitvich (2013) argue that "the best

option seems to be to focus on participants' unelicited, linguistic responses as the potential im/polite act occurs" (p.113). Hence, responses to impoliteness can offer further insights into the occurrence of impoliteness. Research into responses starts from Culpeper et al. (2003), who has looked into what the recipient of face attack does in responding to impoliteness. The data used are from recordings of television documentary of disputes between traffic wardens and car owners (Culpeper et al., 2003). In this study, a theoretical model to analyse response option is introduced (Refer to pg 34). After Culpeper et al. (2003), Bousfield (2007) follows up with a modified model of response options as shown in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: Summary of response options (extended)
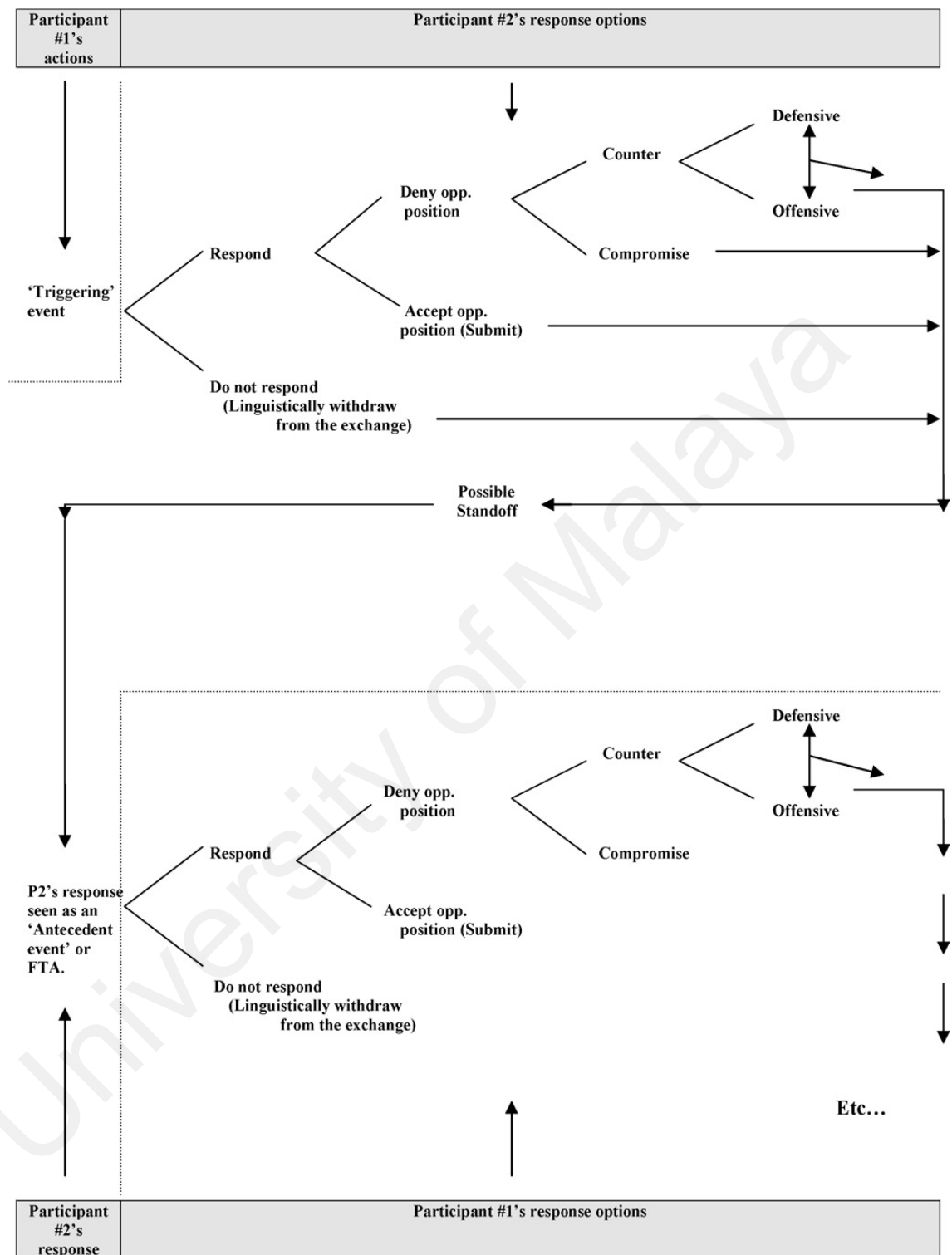
(Bousfield, 2007).

Bousfield's (2007) modified model of response options answers the question of utterances not always being 'pair' shaped and gives an opportunity for impoliteness to be analysed in terms of trigger, middles and end (Bousfield, 2007). Apart from Culpeper et al. (2003) and Bousfield (2007), Lorenzo – Dus (2009) also analyses response option. In all these three studies, the defensive – offensive and defensive – defensive pattern occurs the most. In terms of data, critics are of opinion that documentary recordings data does not represent impolite discourse as the producers have most likely scripted the episodes to be most confrontational (Lorenzo-Dus, 2008).

More recent studies are conducted using corpus of classroom discourse (Mueller, 2011). In her Master's thesis, she analysed polylogal classroom interactions (ibid.). Her findings indicate how Bousfield's (2007) model adequately addresses the response option in whole class and small group discussions (ibid.). However, she also highlights the need to cater for face – threat witnesses who have responded in complex and dynamic ways. Dobs and Blitvich (2013) answered her call through their study which looked at face threat witnesses in specific. They found that Bousfield's (2007) model of response option needs to be expanded to incorporate face threat witnesses. Their revised model is shown in Figure 2.3.

Fig. 2.3: Proposed model for participant response options
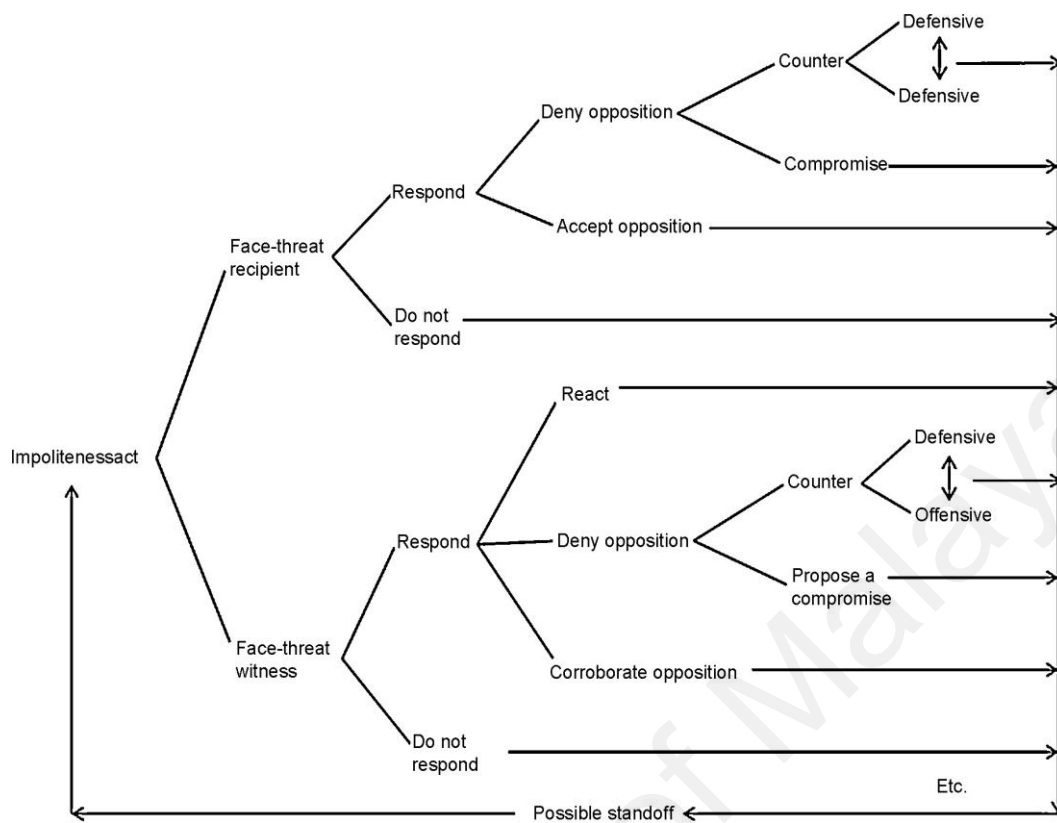
(Dobs and Blitvich ,2013, p.126)

In the model above, Dobs and Blitvich (2013) added a new category for face threat witness. Under this category, 'react' is added as an additional response strategy. 'React' has been categorized "as distinct from countering or denying because the face-threat witnesses do not take up for the face-threat recipient with a counter strategy, nor do they take the side of the face-threat initiator" (Dobs and Blitvich, 2013, p. 124). In short, they neither deny nor accept the impoliteness.

With regard to response options, the studies in the past have added useful insights into the importance of taking response options into account in analysing impoliteness.

2.5 Political debates

Studies in the past have shown political debates to be a clear adversarial discourse since the aim is to damage the ideas brought forward by the adversary and to score points on one's own ideology, be it in electoral face to face debates or parliamentary debates (Rojo and Van Dijk, 1997; Pérez de Ayala, 2001; Shaw, 2000). Political discourse have been analysed through the 2008 US election (Proctor and Wen-Su, 2011), 2006 Finnish presidential elections (Nuolijärvi and Tiittula, 2011), Hungary pre-election debates (Komlòsi and Tarròsy, 2010), French presidential elections (Fracchiolla, 2011), Spanish political debates (Blas–Arroyo, 2003), Prime Minister's Question time in British parliament (Harris, 2001), and Malaysian House of Representatives (Yoong, 2012), among others.

All these studies have explored political discourse from different angles, such as investigating the usage of first person plural among the candidates (Proctor and Wen Su, 2011), the use of irony (Nuolijärvi and Tiittula, 2011), and conversational violence (Luginbühl, 2007). Finding similarities among the studies have been quite an unsuccessful task due to the differences in the focus of the study and the only similarity lies in the data which contains political elements. However, political discourse seems to be a common data to be used in analysing humour (Stewart, 2012; Young, 2012; Márquez, 2010; Bippus, 2007; etc). The reason for this could be the perceived role of humour in attracting the listeners' attention in the discourse of political debates.

In the context of Malaysian politics, Yoong (2012) has looked at humour in Malaysian House of Representative (Dewan Rakyat). He argues that humour can be a form of disorderly practice in the Malaysian parliament by examining the conditions which makes humour acceptable or unacceptable (Yoong, 2012).

In terms of studies done in areas concerning politeness/ impoliteness, Harris (2001) looks at political discourse at the Prime Minister Question time in the British parliament for instances of both politeness and impoliteness. An interesting finding from her study is that impoliteness was shown only by the Opposition but the responses from the Prime Minister have been consistently polite (Harris, 2001). Her study concludes that impoliteness by the Prime Minister is seen as a significant loss of face by both the Opposition and his own party; therefore, he is expected not to engage in impolite verbal exchange, which results in a 'political game in which he has more to lose than to gain' (Harris, 2001: 467).

In a French presidential debate, the male candidate, Nicolas Sarkozy attacks his adversary, Sègoléne Royal (Francchiolla, 2011). However, this is done by the subtle use of impoliteness under the disguise of politeness whereas the female candidate tends to be more direct in her impolite utterances. In terms of impoliteness, both of these studies show impoliteness occurring more in one of the both speakers/debaters. In the study carried out by Harris (2001), the Opposition has been consistently impolite whereas in Franchiolla (2011), the female candidate has shown more impoliteness than her counterpart.

With regard to Japanese political debate, Smith (2011) analysed the use of honorifics which usually is polite, but has been shown to be impolite through an analysis of its usage in a television show where representatives of Japan's main political parties discuss current issues.

2.6 Summary of literature review

As illustrated in the literature review, Culpeper's (2011) framework has not been used much in analysing a variety of discourses compared to his previous frameworks. Taking this into consideration, the present study aims to use Culpeper's (2011) framework in analysing impoliteness strategies.

In the present study, impoliteness and response options in political discourse, in particular from debates are analysed. Unlike documentary recordings of television series, the data from debates are not edited or scripted to increase ratings. Therefore, the data can be considered to be naturally occurring in the context of political debate.

This study also enables Culpeper's (2011) framework to be used in analysing impoliteness in the context of speakers of English as second language. The analysis will reveal preferred impoliteness strategies among non-native speakers.

In relation to response options, Culpeper et al.'s (2003) framework underwent significant modifications due to the change in the nature of discourse (Dobs and Blitvich, 2013). Hence, response options will be analysed in political discourse to ascertain if the model encompasses all the response options.

In the context of Malaysia, Prime Minister's Question Time does not exist, and even open debates regarding policies are a new culture. Unlike presidential debates in the US, political debates in Malaysia have often focused on two parties coming from different political groups or non–governmental organizations (NGOs) arguing over an issue. To my knowledge, scarcely much study has been carried out with regard to impoliteness and response options in Malaysian political debates.

Thus, there is paucity in the literature of impoliteness and response options in political debates. It is this gap in the literature that this study attempts to fill in through the current study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the instrument, theoretical frameworks – Culpeper's (2011) framework on impoliteness strategies and response option by Culpeper et al. (2003), method, ethical issues, data collection and procedures, analysis of the data, and lastly a summary.

3.1 Theoretical Frameworks

This study is anchored in Culpeper's (2011) impoliteness framework and Culpeper et al.'s (2003) model of response options. The impoliteness framework by Culpeper (2011) has been categorised into two, namely, a) conventionalised and b) non – conventionalised impoliteness. The latest framework by Culpeper (2011) has been chosen as it is the most current framework which was not much applied in past studies as opposed to his earlier frameworks. To investigate response options in the study, Culpeper et al.'s (2003) framework will be applied.

In the present study, impoliteness is considered to have taken place when the speaker is perceived to have intentionally communicated to cause face-attack to the opponent or to the audience by the researcher through a set of behaviour which does not conform to the expectation held in a situated context. This definition of impoliteness will be used to identify instances of impoliteness.

3.1.1 Culpeper's conventionalised and non – conventionalised impoliteness formulae

Culpeper (2011) has categorised his framework into conventionalised and non-conventionalised impoliteness. The term conventionalised impoliteness are verbal expressions (such as most swear words) which are considered impolite in all but a very narrow and specific context (Culpeper, 2011).

In order for an impoliteness utterance to be categorised under a strategy, it needs to adhere to the formulae as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Conventionalised impoliteness.

Insults	
1. Personalized negative vocatives	-[you][fucking/rotten/dirty/fat/little/etc.]
2. Personalized negative assertions	-[you][are][so/sucha] [shit/stink/thick/stupid/bitchy/bitch/hypocrite/ disappointment/
3. Personalized negative references	-[your][stinking/little]
4. Personalized third-person negative references (in the hearing of the target)	- [the] [daft] [bimbo]
Pointed criticisms/ complaints	-[that/this/it][is/was] [absolutely/extraordinarily/unspeakably/etc.] [bad/rubbish/crap/horrible/terrible/etc.]
Challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions	- Why do you make my life impossible? - What's gone wrong now?
Condescensions	- [that] ['s/is being] [babyish/childish/etc.]
Message enforcers	- listen here (preface) - you got [it/that]? (tag)
Dismissals	- [go] [away] - [get] [lost/out]

Silencers	- [shut][it]/[your] [stinking/fucking/etc.]
Threats	- [I'll/ I'm/ we're] [gonna] [smash your face in/ beat the shit out of you/ box your ears/ bust your fucking head off/ straighten you out/ etc] [if you don't] [X]
Negative expressives (e.g. curses, ill – wishes)	- [go] [to hell/ hang yourself/ fuck yourself]

Impoliteness strategies and examples are adapted from Culpeper (2011, p.135)

Table 3.1 lists nine conventionalised impoliteness strategies, namely; insults, pointed criticisms/complaints, challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, condescensions, message enforcers, dismissals, silencers, threats, and negative expressive (Culpeper, 2011, p. 135). Each strategy is defined by the formulae as can be observed in Table 3.2.

Non-conventionalised impoliteness requires interpretation in a particular context (Culpeper, 2011). Culpeper (2011) has divided his framework into form–driven, convention–driven and lastly, context–driven. Listed in Table 3.2 are non–conventionalised impoliteness strategies with examples.

Table 3.2: *Non-conventionalised impoliteness (examples are adapted from Culpeper, 2011)*

1) Form–driven	Flouts in Gricean account causes impoliteness. For example:
	'It's cool we've got one of each….a lawyer, a medic, an economist…'and then everyone looked at me…'and Sue'
	Here, Maxim of Manner is flouted, specially the sub maxim 'be orderly'. The offender creates regularity by listing three professions, and then he or she breaks that regularity by adding a personal name, Sue. The impoliteness implication is that Sue is the odd one out.

2)Convention-driven	a) Internal : the context projected by part of a behavior mismatches that projected by another part; eg: *Could you just fuck off?* *Mixes conventionalised politeness formulae ('could you just' versus 'fuck off')(There is an internal mismatch)*
	b) External: the context projected by a behavior mismatches the context of use. Eg: Thank you to the person who parked at my parking space. (When said to the person who parked at the parking space causes an external mismatch with the context).
3) Context- driven	a) Unmarked behavior: an unmarked (with respect to surface form or semantic content) and unconventionalised behavior mismatches the context. Eg: *Mum – Hello* *Vikki – Hiya Mum* *....* *Mum – Have you sorted your finance?* *Vikki – Yea kinda of* *Mum – Vikki, you need to do it, you are going to be in trouble. Go tomorrow and go to student finance* *Vikki – Mum stop going on I know* *Mum – Stop leaving things till the last minute* *Vikki – Right I'm going your doing my head in. Love you*

	b) Absence of behavior: the absence of a behavior mismatches the context.Eg:
	The teacher had asked a question and I put my hand up to answer it.
	She pointed at me and said 'yes?', so I gave my answer. I soon realized that my answer was incorrect as, without saying a word, or giving any feedback, the teacher asked another pupil to give their answer. She ignored my attempt and moved to the next person. So, I was just quiet and continued listening to other answers.

(Culpeper, 2011, p. 156-182)

Table 3.2 outlines non-conventionalised impoliteness strategies. Culpeper's (2011) conventionalised (Table 3.1) and non-conventionalised (Table 3.2) are the framework which will be used to analyse impoliteness strategies in the debate.

3.1.2 Culpeper et al.'s (2003) model of response options

Culpeper et al.'s (2003) summary of response options is used to analyse the responses to impoliteness in this study as shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Summary of response options

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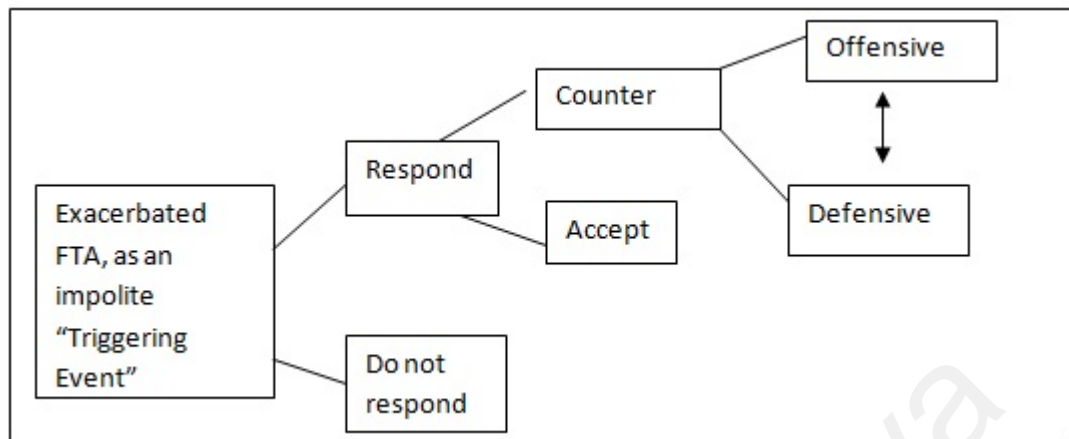
As shown in the model above, when faced with impoliteness, respondents have two options, whether to respond or not. In responding, there is a choice between counter arguing and accepting the impoliteness. If one chooses to counter argue, then the options are to be offensive–defensive. The scalar representation indicates offending remarks may be made to defend the face of the offender and vice versa (Bousfield, 2008). A list of defensive strategies is also compiled based on works by Brenneis and Lein (1977), Cohen et al. (1986), Culpeper et al.'s (2003) and Bousfield (2008). The list is adapted to investigate the types of defensive strategies in the study as shown in Table 3.3

Table 3.3: List of defensive strategies

Defence strategy	Definition /Explanation
Abrogation (role-switching as a defense)	The interlocutor denies personal responsibility for the offending event which made him/her the target of another interlocutor's impolite face threat. One variant comprises switching social roles from being addressed in the role of a private citizen to that of a public servant. This is the act of abrogating one's responsibility on a higher authority. Another variant comprises a switch in discourse roles in which a participant stresses that he/she is only acting in a representative role or as a mouthpiece. Examples include the statement "I'm just following orders!"
Ignore the face attack (whether explicit or implied)	Allow the person performing the face-threatening act to let off steam. Insincere agreement takes place when one offers surface agreement. Another variant of this counter strategy occurs when the implied face attack is ignored. This is especially apparent in sarcasm where the surface meaning is accepted.
Offer an account - explain	The interlocutor attempts to provide new and possibly redressive information about the triggering event which prompted the other interlocutor to be impolite. One could offer an explanation of one's actions in order to lessen the face damage.
Plead	A theoretical defensive option. The interlocutor is damaging his/her own positive face by pleading to prevent a threat of greater face damage. There is usage of politeness strategies and respect which may serve to make the offender look bad for not mitigating the face attack.
Opt out	The interlocutor opts out as a counter strategy.

(Bousfield, 2008, p.196-200)

Basically, all the defence strategies are carried out to defend "one's own face or that of

a third party" (Bousfield, 2008, p. 193). It is to be noted that both defensive and

offensive strategies are not mutually exclusive because "defensive strategies may intentionally or incidentally, be offensive (i.e. they damage an interactant's face in the process of saving one's own" (Bousfield, 2008, p. 193).

3.2 Instrument

The data selection process for this study involves an online search for audio visual recordings of debates which revolves around Malaysian politics in one of video sharing sites, You Tube. All videos which centres around Malaysian political debates were listed and selection is made based on debates which use English as the medium of conversation. Two of the debates chosen use English, while one of the debates uses both Malay and English as medium of communication. Altogether, there were only three debates which use English on Youtube at the time the search was done. It is based on these criteria that these three videos are deemed as suitable for the purpose of this study. The chosen political debates are shown in Table 3.4

Table 3.4: List of political debates

	Debate 1	Debate 2	Debate 3
Title	Electoral Reforms: Is Enough Being Done?	Whose Policies Benefit the Country More?	Public Policy: Vision 2020 - Is Malaysia Moving Towards the Right Direction?
Debaters	Datuk Ambiga Sreenevasan and YB Khairy Jamaluddin	Y.A.B Lim Guan Eng and YB Datuk Seri Dr Chua Soi Lek	Rafizi Ramli and YB Khairy Jamaluddin
Moderator	Muhammad Yunus Zakariah	Michael Yeo	Sachin
Date	25th April 2012	08 Julai 2012	29th January 2012
Venue	The Club, Bukit Utama Golf Course	Sunway Pyramid Convention Centre	London, UK
Language	English	English and Malay	English
Duration	1 hour, 25 minutes	1 hour, 47 minutes	1 hour, 28 minutes

The three chosen are coded as Debate 1, Debate 2, and Debate 3. The total duration of the data is 4 hours and 40 minutes. In the analysis section, instances of impoliteness are coded according to the number of debate, turn and line. For example, D2 T3 L67 refers to the second debate, turn three, and line sixty seven.

In terms of context, at the time when these debates were held, it was widely speculated that the elections was just around the corner. Therefore, one of the main agenda of the debaters was to garner votes for the upcoming general elections. In the following paragraphs, background information regarding the context for every debate is provided.

The debate between Khairy Jamaduddin (hereafter **KJ**) and Ambiga Sreenivasan (hereafter **AS**) revolves around the electoral reform through Bersih, a movement which fights for fair and clean elections in Malaysia. KJ is the Chief of UMNO (United Malays National Organisation) and held no other ministerial post at the time of the debate. AS was the President of Bersih at the time of the debate. In the debate, impoliteness from AS is mostly targeted towards the Election Commission (hereafter **EC**). Even though her criticisms appear to be targeted towards EC, the impoliteness is also indirectly targeted towards KJ. This is due to the fact that the EC comes under the purview of the Prime Minister's Department, and KJ is the representative of the current ruling party (Barisan Nasional). Therefore, the impoliteness is also directed towards KJ and Barisan Nasional (hereafter **BN**).

In the second debate, policies which benefit the country in particular the Chinese are debated. The debaters are the President of MCA, Chua Soi Lek (hereafter **CSL**) and Secretary General of *Democratic Action Party (hereafter* **DAP**), Lim Guan Eng (hereafter **LGE**) who is also the Chief Minister of Penang. The debaters present their arguments in terms of policies of their respective political parties.

The third debate is between Khairy Jamaduddin (KJ) and Rafizi Ramli (hereafter **RR**). RR was the Director of Strategies (at the time of the debate) in Parti Keadilan Rakyat (hereafter **PKR**). The debate focused on many issues ranging from Vision 2020, party policies, race relations, to the rights of students to participate in politics, media access and freedom of assembly.

The relevant videos are then transcribed. Transcription is used as the instrument to measure and document impoliteness in this study. The three political debates are transcribed using the Jefferson's (2004) transcription symbols. His transcription symbols are chosen as it provides a list of concise symbols which enables the data from the debates to be transcribed accordingly. The list of symbols used in this study is shown in Appendix A.

3.3 Method

This study employs the qualitative method to examine impoliteness in the three Malaysian political debates. Qualitative research is applied as it helps to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations while providing insights into the problem (Creswell, 2012). This method gives the researcher an opportunity to go beyond surface interpretation and encourages in depth discussion.

Taking the nature of data in this study, a qualitative method is considered apt as it focuses on clarifying and describing the notion of impoliteness in political debates. This method also clarifies the 'why' and 'how' of impoliteness, which allows for an in depth analysis of the data. In the present study, this method is used to find out the patterns in impoliteness strategies and response options.

3.4 Ethical issues

The researcher referred to the Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) to ensure the data obtained follows the specified guidelines. It is specified that any resources obtained from publicly accessible websites are considered to be ethical (Markham et al., 2002, p. 9). The data for this study is obtained from the YouTube website. The videos on YouTube are meant for public access and no registration is required to watch the videos. However, as YouTube has specified, the videos on its site should not be downloaded. Therefore, the videos of the political debates are not downloaded. In terms of using the content of the debate for the purpose of research, as specified by Markham et al. (2002), consent is unnecessary.

3.5 Data Collection and Procedure

There are a few procedures involved in the data collection process. The process of data collection starts with the researcher listening to Malaysian political debates on a variety of media sharing websites such as Vimeo and YouTube. Since no related videos are found on Vimeo, the researcher searched YouTube and found a few Malaysian political debates. The debates are listened and debates in English are chosen. The three political debates chosen are then labelled from D1 to D3. Next, the debates are transcribed according to Jefferson's (2004) transcription symbols.

3.6 Data Analysis

After transcription, instances of impoliteness are identified based on the definition of impoliteness adopted in this study. All examples of impoliteness are categorised in a table, together with its coding. Coding is done based on the debate, turn and line.

For example, D1 T4 L100 refers to the first debate, turn 4 and line 100 as shown in Table 3.5

Table 3.5: Coding

D1	Debate 1
T4	Turn 4
L100	Line 100

Subsequently, Culpeper's (2011) framework is used to locate the example of impoliteness to the correct strategy. As Culpeper (2011) has categorised his framework into conventionalised and non-conventionalised impoliteness, two stages are involved in pairing instances of impoliteness with strategies. The first stage involves looking for instances of conventionalised impoliteness and the second stage involves looking for instances of non-conventionalised impoliteness. Once the impoliteness strategies have been identified, instances of impoliteness are categorised according to its strategy. For example, all insults are categorised together in a table. After all the impoliteness strategies have been located, a frequency table is prepared to count the number of times an impoliteness strategy is used. In the frequency table, the number of times a strategy is used is displayed together with its percentage. The percentage count is done by dividing the total of an impoliteness strategy with the total number of impoliteness and converted into percentage. For example, if there are five instances of insults, it is divided with the total amount of impoliteness in the study to obtain a percentage. This is done to aid understanding in terms of the distribution of impoliteness strategy.

In order to analyse response options, the list of all instances of impoliteness in the debates are utilised. For each impoliteness, the researcher needs to search the transcript for a response. Responses have to be located since the data revolves around debates,

which involves longer turns before another debater gets to speak. Once all the examples of impoliteness have been paired up with responses, the researcher then proceeds to match the response with the framework by Culpeper et al. (2003). Based on the finding of the response options, a frequency table is charted. The procedures or counting the percentage are similar to the frequency table for impoliteness strategies.

3.7 Reliability and Validity

The issue of reliability and validity are taken into account in this study. Creswell (2009) defines reliability as an examination of the stability or consistency of responses. Validity is based on "determining if the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the

researcher, the participant or the readers" (Creswell,2009, p.109). In a qualitative study, one of the method to ascertain reliability is by employing inter-rater reliability which refers to the degree of agreement among raters especially in a study which involves human interpretation (Creswell, 2009). In the current study, the researcher has sought the assistance of a member of staff in University Malaya, Dr. Baljit Kaur, whose research area is pragmatics, to be the inter-rater. The result reveals a similarity between the inter-rater, Dr Baljit and the researcher's classification of impoliteness strategies and response options.

3.8 Summary

The theoretical frameworks employed in this study- Culpeper's (2011) impoliteness framework and Culpeper at al.'s (2003) summary of response options ensure that all instances of impoliteness and response options are thoroughly explored. Pilot study is not conducted in this study due to the limited number of Malaysian political debates.

The instrument used in data collection, transcription has been very useful in the categorisation of both impoliteness strategies and response options.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to investigate the impoliteness strategies in the Malaysian political debates followed by the response options employed by the debaters. Following this, a discussion on the emerging pattern will be carried out.

This chapter has been divided into two main sections – impoliteness strategies and response options. The first section, impoliteness strategies, analyses conventionalised and non–conventionalised impoliteness. The second section will attempt to investigate response options present in the three Malaysian political debates.

4.1 Impoliteness strategies

The first section under impoliteness strategies will analyse examples of conventionalised impoliteness found in the three debates.

The second section will look into instances of non–conventionalised impoliteness, namely instances of form–driven, convention–driven and context–driven impoliteness.

4.1.1 Conventionalised impoliteness

The examples of conventionalised impoliteness are categorised based on the framework by Culpeper (2011, see pg 31). In the Malaysian debates, there are examples of insults, pointed criticisms, and message enforcers. In the following section, each of these categories will be discussed with examples from the debates. The examples are coded

according to the number of the debate, turn and line. For example, D1 T3 L107 refers to Debate 1, Turn 3 and line 107.

4.1.1.1 Insults

a) Personalized negative assertions	**Example 1**	D1 T3 193	KJ:	You are pre judging it and most importantly, you are misinterpreting the people...
	Example 2	D2 T45 L714	CSL:	You have failed to stand up for the non Muslim. On the bigger issue, you will not stand up. You will just stand down and bow out, I'm sure.

There are two instances of personalized negative assertions in the debates. These examples fit Culpeper's (2011) framework as the pronoun 'you' are used and words which generally carry negative connotations are present. From the first debate between AS and KJ, the usage of the words "pre judging" and "misinterpreting" are used to portray AS negatively and to insult her contributions. He uses these words when referring to the 42 000 voters whom she has classified as 'dodgy voters' while KJ argues they are legitimate voters who have failed to update their identity card numbers and addresses. KJ's insult causes face damage to AS.

In the second example, CSL uses the word 'failed' to show DAP as lacking in competence when it comes to defending the rights of the non Muslims, followed by words such as 'stand down' and 'bow out'. These words are used to insult the competence of DAP and the usage of the pronoun 'you' does not only refer to LGE personally, but also DAP in general. This is because DAP mainly consist of Chinese and Indians; therefore, one of the main contribution of this party is to fight for the rights of non-Muslims. So, CSL's remarks insults the party's ability to defend the non-Muslims and causes impoliteness to LGE and DAP.

b) *Non – Personalized negative assertions*	**Example 3**	D2 T2 L83	LGE:	BN has never spoken truthfully to the people(.)
	Example 4	D2 T6 L198	CSL:	...DAP IS JUST A CAMOUFLAGE FOR CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY.
	Example 5	D2 T27 L489	LGE:	Bukan macam pemimpin MCA yang masuk penjara juga, tetapi kerana tipu wang rakyat *(Unlike leaders from MCA who have been jailed, but for embezzling money from public funds)*
	Example 6	D2 T27 L510	LGE:	BN media cannot trust one, all bluff one

The second category of insult, non-personalized negative assertions is not part of Culpeper's framework. This new category is added because there are four instances of insults found in the debates which did not fit into the existing framework by Culpeper (2011). These examples do not have the pronoun 'you'. Due to the nature of debates in which 'attacks' are often not aimed at the opponent per se but also the party as a whole, the pronoun 'you' is not used at all times in the debates. Therefore, the examples of insults under the non–personalized negative assertions do not have the pronoun 'you'. Four examples of non-personalised insults are found in the debates.

In the first example (D2 T2 L49), the usage of the phrase 'never spoken truthfully' is another way of saying BN lies all the time. The act of associating a political party with a strong negative word such as lying causes impoliteness not only to BN but also to MCA.

CSL also insults the DAP by equating the party with the Chinese Communist Party. In Malaysia, the Communist Party has been banned and has a negative connotation mainly

due to the sufferings encountered during <u>Communist Insurgency War</u>. Since the communist party caused much trouble during its existence in Malaysia, associating it with DAP implies impoliteness which aims to insult and criticize DAP.

In D2 T27 L299, LGE makes a comparison between leaders from PR who have been jailed for political reasons and leaders from MCA who have been jailed for embezzling public funds. More than the word 'jailed', what causes impoliteness is the phrase 'embezzling public funds' as it implies corruption.

The last example of non–personalized negative assertion is targeted at BN. The insult lies in the usage of 'bluff', which means the media controlled by BN such as newspaper and mainstream television channels are filled with lies. Though the pronoun 'you' is not used, it is clear that LGE uses insult as his impoliteness strategy to cause offence to BN.

4.1.1.2 Pointed criticisms

Example 7	D1 T21 L464	AS:	...this is going to be the dirtiest (.) election...
Example 8	D1 T37 L625	KJ:	...this comes back to Datuk Ambiga. Jumps the gun. PREJUDICIAL.
Example 9	D2 T2 L75	LGE:	Ini bekas Adun MCA sendiri hentam MCA. *(This is MCA's own ex State Assemblyman member bashing MCA)*
Example 10	D2 T27 L512	LGE:	Ini Utusan Malaysia semua tipu orang. Kaki fitnah nombor satu negara. *(This Utusan Malaysia lies to people. Number one in spreading slanders in the country)*
Example 11	D2 T31 L571	CSL:	That Lim Guan Eng's government is a fake one if he can promise everybody got education. It is a fake one. It's a sham I can tell you.

There are only five examples of pointed criticism in the three debates. All the examples of pointed criticisms are chosen based on the formula in Culpeper's framework. They begin with the pronoun 'that/ this/ it'. In the first debate, there are two examples of

pointed criticism; one from each debater. AS says the upcoming election will be the 'dirtiest' which criticizes the ruling Government, accusing them of using dirty tactics to win while the Election Commission (EC) permits this to happen. The superlative adjective 'dirtiest' is used to show that this is going to be the worst in terms of foul play. In the second example, KJ criticizes AS personally through the usage of 'jumps the gun' and 'prejudicial' when describing on AS's unwillingness to talk to the EC. The impoliteness is directed at AS personally.

In the second debate, pointed criticism is aimed towards MCA regarding the Port Klang Free Zone scandal. LGE refers to a politician who was previously in MCA but has resigned due to alleged corruption in MCA. In this context, it is not only the word 'hentam' (bashing) which criticizes MCA, but also that the claim is made by an ex-MCA member. This shows lack of unity in MCA. The impoliteness is directed at CSL and MCA.

Following this, LGE criticises Utusan Malaysia, a Malay daily owned by Barisan Nasional, saying it spreads lies and slanders. The impoliteness here is directed towards MCA who is part of BN. In this example, the criticism is directed towards the media owned by BN.

When discussing the standard of education in Malaysia, CSL uses pointed criticisms in three sentences directly one after another (D2 T31 L344). Earlier, LGE has mentioned that it is possible to implement an education system which caters to the needs of people from all walks of life. To criticize LGE's point, CSL uses 'fake' twice, followed by 'sham'. Both words have strong connotations of wrongdoing. The impoliteness is directed at LGE personally as his name is mentioned instead of the party he is affiliated to, DAP.

The usage of pointed criticisms in the debate is mostly targeted at more than a person or a party. For example, AS's criticism is targeted at the EC, KJ and BN. Similar examples can be observed in D1 T21 L283, D2 T2 L44, and D2 T27 L311. In two examples, (D1 T37 L386, D2 T31 L344) however, the debaters choose to target their opponents directly.

4.1.1.3 Unpalatable questions and presuppositions

Example 12	D1 T18 L433	AS:	How can you not be suspicious?
Example 13	D2 T2 L91	LGE:	Does Barisan Nasional does not dare to declare your assets because you have too many to hide or too many car numbers to hide?
Example 14	D2 T6 L188	CSL:	Where has all the money you have collected gone to?
Example 15	D2 T10 L256	LGE:	Nak tipu siapa? *(Who are you lying to?)*
Example 16	D2 T20 L369	LGE:	Are you accepting the fact that BN permits corruption?
Example 17	D2 T39 L641	LGE:	ARE YOU PROUD OF THAT MCA?

Altogether, there are six examples of unpalatable questions and presuppositions. The first example comes from the first debate. By asking "how can you not be suspicious?" AS is suggesting it is normal to be suspicious of the EC. She is talking about an amendment made to the Election Offences Act and passed in the Parliament. However, she does not explain the nature of the amendment, but, alleges that this amendment is against promoting a clean election. The word 'suspicious' points at wrongdoings by EC which causes face damage to EC and KJ who represents BN.

Other instances of unpalatable questions come from the second debate between LGE and CSL. Most of the unpalatable questions are from LGE. In D2 T2 L53, LGE asks

whether BN 'does not dare to declare assets' which can be seen as accusing the members of BN of corruption. He touches on the topic of declaring assets because PR requires all of its politicians to declare their assets whereas BN doesn't. LGE uses the word 'hide' to emphasize corruption by BN.

Example 16 (D2 T20 L227) is an unpalatable question aimed at a Minister from MCA. Dato' Seri Chor Chee Heung (Minister for Housing and Local Government at the time of the debate), a member of the audience asks LGE regarding PR's budget proposal. He questions the allocation in the budget and agrees that 26 billion can be saved from corruption. When answering his question, LGE takes the opportunity to ask whether BN permits corruption. Even though LGE directs the question at Dato' Seri Chor Chee Heung, LGE uses 'BN' as part of the unpalatable question to cause offence to both BN and MCA.

In D2 T39 L384, though the word 'proud' is conventionally used to express appreciation, in this context, it implies failure. 'That' refers to non Muslim students who fail to gain entry into public universities and LGE accuses MCA of failing to play its role in securing places. Impoliteness is directed towards CSL who is the President and also to MCA as a whole.

4.1.1.4 Message enforcers

Example 18	D1 T4 L266	AS:	Let me tell you, ok?

There is only one example of message enforcer in the data. This example comes from the first debate. AS uses a message enforcer when responding to a claim that there is nothing EC can do regarding the 42 000 voters who are considered 'dodgy'. She uses a message enforcer with a stress on the word "me" and "you". By saying "let me tell you,

ok" (T4, L158), she is creating the assumption that what has been said regarding the issue of dodgy voters by KJ is not the truth. The impoliteness is directed at KJ.

In terms of conventionalised impoliteness, instances of insults (personalized negative assertions and *non – personalized negative assertions*), pointed criticisms, unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, and message enforcers can be found in the Malaysian debates. In the section which follows, non–conventionalised impoliteness will be discussed.

4.1.2 Non – conventionalised impoliteness

Culpeper's (2011) has categorised non–conventionalised impoliteness into three categories; form–driven, convention–driven and context–driven. In the sections which follow, examples from the Malaysian debates are discussed based on these categories starting with form–driven.

4.1.2.1 Form – driven

Form–driven impoliteness centres on the Cooperative Principle (Culpeper, 2011). When a Gricean maxim has been flouted, an implicature occurs (ibid.). For the purpose of analysis, selected examples of form–driven impoliteness from the three debates are discussed. Flouts of the Maxim of Quality and Relation will be discussed. No example of impoliteness which flouts Maxim of Quantity and Maxim of Manner are found. Below are all the examples of form driven impoliteness which flout the Maxim of Quality found from the debate between AS and KJ.

| **Example 19** | D1 T2 L38 | AS: | ... 19 voters were born before 1900.As Keen Ming said yesterday, we have an excellent healthcare system (.) |

Example 20	D1 T4 L272	AS:	Then when it comes to removing, they suddenly are coy and respectful of the Constitution.
Example 21	D1 T38 L662	AS:	If there are 100 000 increase in EC staff, 140 000 to 240 000, that's another 100 000 of postal votes. Just to give you another angle to that.
Example 22	D1 T11 L382	KJ:	Datuk Ambiga, I know you are very disappointed with Pakatan Rakyat for hijacking Bersih 2.0 ((laugh))

In D1 T2 L15, AS uses sarcasm aimed at the Election Commission (EC), saying that Malaysia has an excellent healthcare system as it lists people older than 100 years old as voters. The implicature is that the EC is lying about the number of voters who are born before 1900. She flouts the **Maxim of Quality** by giving information which is not true. The impoliteness here is directed at the EC and BN.

Another issue which is consistent throughout the first debate is regarding removing voters who are considered 'dodgy'. AS believes under the law, there is a regulation which gives the EC the power to remove voters from the electoral roll but the EC has not been putting this regulation into practice. She describes the EC as "liberal" when adding people to the electoral roll but "coy" and "resistant" when it comes to removing them (D1 T4 L160). The usage of the word "liberal" suggests the act of adding voters (often related to immigrants) as a continuous practice. She also uses the word "suddenly" which signals something that comes out of the blue and unexpected followed by words such as "coy" and "respectful" (T4,L160) which is sarcasm. The implicature is that the EC can remove voters but is not purposely doing so. The **Maxim of Quality** has been flouted by saying the EC is coy and respectful which is not true.

In the first debate, AS brings up the issue of postal voters. AS links the increase in EC staff in the upcoming general elections to an increase in postal voters (D1 T38 L407). The reliability of postal votes is an issue in the debate. By saying EC raises the number

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of staff to increase postal voters implicates dishonesty by the EC. AS flouts the **Maxim of Quality.**

Impoliteness is also directed at AS's struggle as President of Bersih. At the time of the debate, she was the Head of the Steering Committee. The members of the Opposition actively participated during the Bersih 2.0 rally, including its Leader, Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim. Therefore, the second rally has been widely claimed to have been hijacked by Pakatan Rakyat from the Bersih steering committee (Anisah, 2012). The impoliteness here is directed at AS. **Maxim of Quality** is flouted. The implicature is that she is involved with Pakatan Rakyat.

 All the examples above show Flouts of the **Maxim of Quality** from the debate between KJ and AS. In the second debate, there are four instances of flouts of the **Maxim of Quality**.

Example 23	D2 T2 L95	LGE:	Tiap – tiap tahun dapat bukan macam Barisan Nasional, lima tahun sekali atau BRIM RM500 50 tahun sekali (.)
Example 24	D2 T6 L164	CSL:	Every day, you tell the whole world you are giving RM100 to the old people.
Example 25	D2 T20 L377	LGE:	I think you must have read the wrong one lah.
Example 26	D2 T27 L503	LGE:	So, maybe next time, I should send it as a videotape to you sometime.

In terms of financial aid given by the BN government, LGE says BRIM (Bantuan Rakyat 1 Malaysia) which amounts to RM500 is given once in 50 years (D2 T2 L55). At the time of the debate, BRIM has just been started. Saying once in 50 years is an exaggeration and could mean no other financial aid given in 50 years. GE flouts the **Maxim of Quality**. The implicature is to undermine BN's financial aid.

Aside from LGE, CSL also targets financial aid given by DAP. He says, "Everyday, you tell the whole world you are giving RM100 to the old people" (D2 T6 L92), which is an exaggeration as obviously, DAP will not be telling the whole world every single day. This utterance by CSL flouts the **Maxim of Quality.** The implicature is DAP talks often about the financial aid given to old people in Penang.

LGE uses form driven impoliteness when talking about a statement from Buku Jingga which he disagrees with. He says his opponent must have read the wrong one (T20 L229). Considering that there is only one Buku Jingga which is the Opposition's administration master plan, LGE is making an untrue statement. The implicature is CSL is not stating what is written in the Buku Jingga and therefore, LGE is flouting the **Maxim of Quality**.

His next impoliteness revolves around Buku Jingga too for which he says he should get the book on videotape (D2T27 L306). He says he will do this 'next time'. By saying he will get it on videotape, which is a form of visual media, implies that CSL is not capable of grasping the information in printed media (book/brochure). LGE flouts the **Maxim of Quality.**

Apart from flouts of the Maxim of Quality, there is an example of a flout of the Maxim of Manner in the second debate.

Example 27	D2 T47 L859	LGE:	First they said dying hills, now crying hills. I think with the lies MCA spread, it will end up to be sex, lies and the hills.

In D2 T47 L511, LGE talks about the hills in Penang which was reported negatively in the Star newspaper (a daily which is owned by MCA). 'They' here refers to MCA. After talking about 'dying hills' and 'crying hills', which are the headlines appeared in The Star, he breaks the regularity when he includes 'sex and lies' which has little

connections with the issue of hills in Penang. LGE flouts the **Maxim of Relation** by saying something which lacks relevance. The implicature is LGE is talking about CSL's sex scandal.

4.1.2.2 Convention-driven

There are seven instances of convention-driven impoliteness in the political debates. Culpeper (2011) has categorised convention–driven impoliteness into two categories; namely internal and external. Examples of impoliteness with internal mismatches are shown below and words or phrases which show politeness and impoliteness are underlined.

Example 28	D1 T39 L675	KJ:	Please do not misrepresent, Datuk Ambiga
Example 29	D2 T6 L191	CSL:	May I suggest, honourable Chief Minister, please start a kindergarten in Penang to help the poor?
Example 30	D2 T45 L460	CSL:	Where? Where is the press freedom my dear friend?
Example 31	D3 T2 L13	RR:	I think the credit should be given to Tun Mahathir no matter how the history will judge him.

There are four instances of internal mismatches in the debates. In D1 T39 L415, KJ uses the conventionally polite expression, 'please' with 'do not misrepresent' which is an impolite phrase. The word 'misrepresent' is considered conventionally impolite, especially in this context, in which AS held the position of President of Bersih and this word aims to portray her as not being truthful.

In the next example from the second debate, CSL refers to his opponent, as 'honourable Chief Minister' which is used as a sign of respect. He then proceeds to ask LGE to start

a kindergarten to cause face damage to CSL who is described as a leader who is incapable of great achievements. There is a mismatch between 'honourable Chief Minister' and 'start a kindergarten' which causes impoliteness under the category of internal driven mismatch.

Similarly, CSL uses the term 'my dear friend' which is a polite form of addressing a person. Prior to asking this question (D2 T45 L460), CSL talks about the lack of press freedom in Penang. So, the question in D2 T45 L460 combines politeness (my dear friend) with an unpalatable question regarding press freedom.

The last example of an internal driven mismatch can be found in the debate between KJ and RR. Dr Mahathir is praised by RR when he says 'credit should be given', but what follows, 'no matter how the history will judge him' implies that his actions are not entirely commendable.

Example 32	D1 T39 L666	KJ:	You see, Datuk Ambiga is very clever.
Example 33	D3 T4 L99	KJ:	He's wearing a nice sweater, Keadilan's colours. Looking good. Looking good.
Example 34	D3 T13 L331	RR:	I mean, you are already popular. Look at the crowd today. They adore you. ((laugh)) You are an asset. You're a national asset to the young generation.

In the debates, there are three examples of external mismatches. The example from the first debate (D1 T39 L410), on the surface level, seems polite. The purpose of the debate is to attack each other's viewpoint. However, telling the audience about Ambiga's cleverness is a mismatch in a context where KJ is trying to prove his intelligence through his arguments. An utterance such as above will not carry a similar meaning as to another context which involves a teacher praising a student's cleverness. There is an external mismatch between the utterance and its context.

The second example of a convention–driven external mismatch also comes from KJ. This time, KJ praises RR's choice of outfit, a turquoise coloured sweater, and compares its colour to that of the flag of RR's political party, Parti Keadilan Rakyat. KJ himself is wearing a black suit, which gives an air of sophistication. Taking into consideration the contrast between the debaters' outfits, KJ's remarks can be considered sarcasm. Due to the fact that the praise is in contrast with the context, there is an external mismatch.

In Turn 13 of the third debate, RR applies the same strategy of impoliteness by praising KJ using the words 'popular', 'adore', 'asset' and 'national asset'. Interestingly, the audience starts laughing after the third line of praises ("You are an asset. You're a national asset to the young generation), instead of clapping, when someone is praised. Their laughter could be an indicator that the 'praise' to be sarcastic and tinged with insincerity as it is unusual for debaters to praise one another.

4.1.2.3 Instances of impoliteness not found in Culpeper's (2011) framework

There are instances of impoliteness which do not fit Culpeper's description for conventionalised and non–conventionalised impoliteness. Below are some of the examples.

Example 35	D1 T22 L533	KJ:	And I'm having a tough time trusting you tonight
Example 36	D2 T41 L652	LGE:	If you can sell off the interest of Penang port, you will also sell out the interest of the people of Penang.
Example 37	D2 T10 L279	LGE:	But wait, TAR college is the clearest example of the failure of MCA.
Example 38	D2 T24 L454	CSL:	But the question is why in some Pakatan Rakyat there are cases of corruption? Why are they swept under the carpet? Why is the 1 million land scandal in Selangor, DAP is so quiet?

| **Example 39** | D2 T47 L944 | LGE: | BN cannot change. They need to be CHANGED … |
| **Example 40** | D2 T13 L309 | CSL: | Let's take for example, why is DAP so quiet about Anwar's bank account with three billion? |

These excerpts do not fit into Culpeper's conventionalised impoliteness due to the formula- driven approach used in the framework. For example, at a glance, D1 T22 L331 appears to be an insult but this example does not fit into Culpeper's formulaic description of what constitutes an insult. For instance, a personalized negative vocative requires the formula:

[you] [fucking/rotten/dirty/fat/little/etc.]
[moron/fuck/plonker/dickhead/berk/pig/shit/bastard/loser/liar/minx/brat/slut
/squirt/sod/bugger, etc.] [you]

(Culpeper, 2011.pg 135)

The formula requires the pronoun 'you' followed by words which generally have a negative connotation such as 'moron' and 'pig'. Due to these, examples of impoliteness in Example 11 which contain words such as 'trusting' (D1 T22 L331), 'sell off' (D2 T41 L393) and 'change' (D2 T47 L563) could not be categorized as insults or any other strategies of conventionalized impoliteness as these words do not present a negative connotation in all contexts. Therefore, impoliteness in Example 11 could not be categorised under conventionalised impoliteness which leaves its counterpart, non–conventionalised impoliteness or implicational impoliteness which requires interpretation of a particular utterance in a particular context. However, under Culpeper's (2011) framework, non-conventionalised impoliteness has been divided into three; form – driven, convention – driven and context – driven; under none the examples found in the table above fits. Therefore, there is a need for a new category which could accommodate these instances of impoliteness.

4.1.2.3.1 Discourse – driven impoliteness

In this section, I propose a new category called discourse – driven impoliteness. I choose the term 'discourse' as a category of impoliteness as I feel the reason some instances of impoliteness do not fit into the framework by Culpeper (2011) is because they have to be evaluated by the way language is used in a particular discourse. According to Fairclough (1989), discourse is a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1989). He adds:

> What precisely does this imply? Firstly, that language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it. Secondly, that language is a social process. And thirdly, that language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society.

(Fairclough,1989, p. 22)

To further illustrate this, the discourse used between a teacher and students is constructed by the accepted social practices in a particular society. Therefore, the discourse will be specific to a student – teacher discourse. The same discourse will not be applied when the student is communicating with another student. Archer and Jagodzin (2014) study on interaction in a call centre indicates "the institution's tacit acceptance of impoliteness and verbal aggression, on the part of callers, can lead to a form of institutional sanctioning" (Archer and Jagodzin´, 2014, p.46). In the study, impoliteness from the callers is an accepted occurrence which is considered normal in the call centre discourse. The callers and the customer service officers are tied to a socially conformed call centre discourse.

As language is used differently across discourses, a political discourse is applicable only in its context. For example, in D2 T10 L171, LGE says, "But wait, TAR College is the clearest example of the failure of MCA". The same utterance, said by two friends in a

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coffee shop will not be impolite whereas when said in a debate, impoliteness occurs. Communicative situations play a major role in determining impoliteness. As such, there is a need to investigate impoliteness based on its discourse. Concurrently, I am not saying that all instances of impoliteness from a specific discourse, for example, political debates, fall into discourse driven impoliteness. Culpeper's (2011) framework can be used to analyse instances of impoliteness but in cases where there are instances of impoliteness which do not fit the existing framework, then discourse – driven impoliteness can be considered. In Culpeper's words:

> Impoliteness, however, does play a central role and is relatively frequent in specific discourses, such as army recruit training, interaction between car owners and traffic wardens, exploitative TV – contexts which perhaps *my students and I are not party to very often and which are often less well less represented in corpus data*.

(Culpeper, 2011, p.130, emphasis mine)

Culpeper's conventionalised impoliteness framework is a corpus based formulae formulated based on instances of impoliteness from his students which in general, involved day to day conversations. As he said in the excerpt above, discourse specific data is not well represented in his corpus, as in the case of political debates which requires discourse – driven as an additional category under non – conventionalised impoliteness because it is not context spanning but context specific.

The analysis of the uncategorised instances of impoliteness revealed that these instances fall into two categories. The first category is called 'discredit ability' which refers to harming the good reputation of someone with regard to talent or skill in a particular area. The second category is accusations. Searle (1985, p.190) defines accuse as "to assert to someone with the propositional content condition that the propositional

content predicates responsibility to some individual for the existence of a state of affairs and with the preparatory condition that this state of affairs is bad". In the context of debates, accuse can be defined as a charge or claim that someone has done something illegal or wrong. In all the three debates, there are instances of a debater accusing another of wrongdoing.

4.1.2.3.1.1 Discredit ability

Due to the combative nature of debates, opponents constantly accuse one another of wrongdoings. There are twenty eight instances of 'discredit ability' in the debates. Below are ten examples of impoliteness which fall into the category of discredit ability.

Example 41	D1 T22 L498	KJ:	And even when I come forward to give you arguments which I gotten from the EC themselves, as an MP, I ask them, I ask them, I actually did my homework and I asked them. But you cannot even accept that.

KJ repeatedly uses the pronoun 'I' to stress on his contribution in trying to get the necessary information from the EC. The repetition is made to show his efforts and is done to create a positive self image followed by 'you cannot even accept that' directed towards AS. The phrase 'cannot even' discredits the ability of AS and portrays AS as being suspicious. Impoliteness is directed towards AS through discrediting her ability.

Example 42	D2 T2 L51	LGE:	In fact, MCA is <u>not qualified</u> to talk about policies because MCA does not decide, it is UMNO which decides

Example 40 is a clear example of discredit ability through the usage of 'not qualified'. LGE is talking about policymaking in BN by claiming that UMNO is the decision

maker in the BN coalition, again discrediting the ability of MCA. Impoliteness is

directed towards CSL as the President of MCA by discrediting his leadership qualities

to make decisions in BN.

Example 43	D2 T6 L156	CSL:	But, it is all part of nation building which DAP has <u>no role to play.</u>
Example 44	D2 T6 L168	CSL:	And when you talk about education, I would say, DAP has <u>nothing to show.</u>

Both examples of discredit ability are from CSL. He uses phrases such as 'no role to

play' and 'nothing to show', referring to DAP's lack of contribution in the area of

nation building and education. As the 13th GE was around the corner (at the time of the

debate), areas such as nation building and education are key aspects in voter's criteria

for the right political party. Therefore, CSL's remarks cause impoliteness to DAP.

Example 45	D1 T14 L404	AS:	We have <u>no confidence</u> in them
Example 46	D1 T21 L478	AS:	And to me, talking to them <u>is no use</u>
Example 47	D2 T2 L47	LGE:	Adakah keengganan Najib berbahas dengan Anwar kerana beliau bimbang selepas perbahasan, rakyat Malaysia akan menentukan bahawa Anwar <u>lebih layak</u> untuk menjadi Perdana Menteri daripada Najib? *(Is Najib's reluctance in debating with Anwar because he is worried that after the debate, Malaysians will decide that Anwar <u>is more suited</u> to be the Prime Minister than Najib?)*

Example 48	D2 T10 L279	LGE:	But wait, TAR college is the clearest example of the <u>failure </u>of MCA.
Example 49	D2 T20 L388	LGE:	Pernah Malaysia dipuji oleh Transparency International? *(Has Malaysia ever been praised by Transparency International?)*
Example	D2 T47	LGE:	Tapi saya nak tanya mengapakah semasa Barisan

| 50 | L807 | Nasional memerintah Pulau Pinang selama 40 tahun tak pernah satu tahun pun menjadi nombor satu dalam pelaburan? *(But I want to ask why when Barisan Nasional ruled Penang for 40 years it was never number one in investment?)* |

In the examples above, impoliteness is caused by opponents through the discredit ability strategy. The words which have been used are 'no confidence' (D1 T14 L244), 'no use' (D1 T21 L292), 'more suited', (D2 T2 L26) and 'failure' (D2 T10 L171).

In the first debate, AS directs the impoliteness at EC by stating Bersih has 'no confidence' in EC's capabilities in running a fair and clean elections. She also uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to Bersih. Her choice of the pronoun 'we' causes greater offence as the use of 'we' indicates a collective lack of trust in the EC. She could be referring to everyone supporting Bersih's cause.

In the second debate, the impoliteness strategy, "discredit ability' is used by LGE in four instances. In the first example (D2 T2 L26), he targets the impoliteness at the Prime Minister, who is also the President of BN. Anwar, the Opposition leader, has invited the PM for a debate but the PM has declined. LGE attributes PM's refusal to his lack of debating skills. LGE's act of challenging the PM's ability results in impoliteness not only to the PM, but also MCA, which is part of BN.

In another example, LGE says TAR College (now a university) which stands for Tunku Abdul Rahman College is a symbol of MCA's failure (D2 T10 L171). LGE claims TAR College was started because a large number of Chinese students could not secure places in public universities despite obtaining good results. LGE's act of turning a possible achievement (setting up TAR College) into a failure causes face damage to CSL, who is the President of MCA.

LGE uses questions to discredit the ability of both BN and MCA. His question on whether Malaysia has been praised by Transparency International implies that the BN federal government is corrupt. Penang has been praised by Transparency International, an organisation which fights against corruption. He uses the same technique in inquiring why Penang has never held the top position in investment under a BN state government to discredit BN. These questions from LGE cause offence to his opponent while putting him and his party in a positive light.

In the first debate, discredit ability has been used to discredit the ability of the EC to run a fair and clean elections. In the second debate, discredit ability has been used more extensively. It is used by LGE to challenge the Prime Minister's ability to debate and to undermine MCA's ability in ensuring educational opportunities. Both CSL and LGE discredit one another in running a corruption free Government, and attracting foreign investment. No examples of discredit ability can be found in the third debate.

4.1.2.3.1.2 Accusations

Example 51	D1 T22 L533	KJ:	And I'm having a tough time trusting you tonight
Example 52	D2 T2 L78	LGE:	Kalau kita terus dipecahbelahkan, siapa untung? *(If we continue to be segregated, who gains?)*
Example 53	D2 T2 L89	LGE:	Why is the Prime Minister afraid in revealing his assets and the assets of his business? Does Barisan Nasional does not dare to declare your assets because you have too many to hide or too many car numbers to hide?

Example 54	D2 T23 L420	LGE:	It is the policies of Barisan Nasional that does not allow the people of Malaysia to excel.

Impoliteness is triggered by accusations in the Malaysian political debates. These accusations, naturally, are made to accuse their opponent of wrongdoings. Altogether, there are thirty nine instances of accusations. In the first debate between KJ and AS, KJ expresses his lack of trust in AS. At the time of the debate, AS was the President of Bersih, which has the support of many Malaysians as seen in the turn-out during rallies. KJ's saying he cannot trust AS causes face damage to AS and therefore leads to impoliteness.

In the second debate, LGE uses the impoliteness strategy 'accusations' to cause offence to CSL. His question on who gains if the people continue to be segregated is not addressed to anyone but since BN is the party which has been in power, it is understood that BN is responsible for the segregation (D2 T2 L46). In D2 T23 L260, LGE again uses impoliteness by accusing BN of having policies that prevent the people from excelling.

In D2 T2 L53, LGE accuses the Prime Minister and BN of corruption for allegedly not revealing their assets. His choice of words such as 'afraid', 'does not dare' and 'hide' implies wrongdoing. He also talks about car numbers. At the time of the debate, Health Minister, Liow Tiong Lai, who was the Deputy President of MCA, faced criticisms over allegedly placing a bid of RM24, 200 for the WWW15 vehicle number-plate (Wong, 2012). LGE's association of BN leaders not revealing their assets with bidding on vehicle number–plate causes face damage for CSL and BN. In general, accusations of corruption occur frequently especially in the first and second debate.

Example 55	D1 T11 L380	KJ:	You know how many Pakatan Rakyat MPs showed up? Ten. Ten Pakatan Rakyat MPs showed up. That's how much they care about this.

KJ is referring to the number of Pakatan Rakyat MPs who attended the briefing by EC in the Parliament. He associates their poor attendance with 'how much they care' about EC's briefing. The accusation made by KJ implies that the Pakatan Rakyat MPs show lack of interest in the election procedures. This causes impoliteness to AS. Even though AS represents Bersih which is not associated with any political parties, the Pakatan Rakyat MPs have shown keen interest in Bersih's struggle for clean elections by participating in rallies. Therefore, when KJ portrays them as showing little interest, it causes impoliteness to both AS and PR.

Example 56	D1 T26 L549	KJ:	If you put yourself in the shoes of the EC, there's no point talking to you.

In Example 56, the impoliteness is directed towards AS personally as can be seen through the usage of the word 'you' which is used twice. KJ chooses to speak on behalf of the EC. In doing so, he is giving the message that the EC doesn't see any point in talking to AS which implies she is headstrong and does not listen to others. The impoliteness is caused by an accusation against AS.

Example 57	D1 T72 L989	AS:	Don't look down on these figures ok. Don't sneer at it.

AS uses 'don't' twice in Example 54 which can be seen as cautioning KJ. Her accusation can be observed through the usage of 'look down' and 'sneer'. Though she is not accusing him directly, she hints that there is a possibility of KJ looking down on and

sneering at the figures she presents during the debate. As such, accusation has been used as a strategy to cause impoliteness.

Example 58   D2 T2 L83   LGE: BN has never spoken truthfully to the people.

In Example 58, the phrase 'never spoken truthfully' is an accusation at BN, implying that BN lies all the time and cannot be trusted. LGE causes impoliteness towards CSL, who represents MCA and BN.

4.1.3 Summary of RQ1 findings

Under this section, I aim to present the impoliteness strategies found in the Malaysian political debates. The impoliteness strategies are also categorised according to the different debates. Table 4.1 presents the findings of the study in terms of impoliteness strategies

Table 4.1: Impoliteness strategies in Malaysian political debates

Impoliteness Strategies	Debate 1 (AS vs KJ)	Debate 2 (CSL vs GE)	Debate 3 (KJ vs RR)	Total (%)

Conventionalised Impoliteness			
Insults			
a) Personalized negative assertions	1	1	0	2 (2)
b) Non – Personalized negative assertions	0	4	0	4 (4)
Pointed criticisms	2	3	0	5 (5)
Unpalatable questions and presuppositions	1	5	0	6 (6)
Message enforcers	1	0	0	1 (1)
Total (Conventionalised impoliteness)	5	13	0	18 (18)
Non – conventionalised Impoliteness			
Form – driven	4	5	0	9 (9)
Convention – driven	1	2	3	6 (6)
Discourse – driven			
a) Discredit ability	5	23	0	28 (28)
b) Accusations	4	35	0	39 (39)
Total (Non – conventionalised impoliteness)	14	65	3	82 (82)
Total (Conventionalised impoliteness) + (Non–conventionalised impoliteness)				100 (100)

* Impoliteness strategies which are in bold and italicised are not part of Culpeper's framework

In the three political debates analysed, conventionalised impoliteness takes place in eighteen instances whereas non–conventionalised impoliteness shows a much higher occurrence, eighty two instances. Conventionalised impoliteness strategies are used less often by Malaysian debaters mainly due to the formulaic description of each category such as insult, pointed criticisms, etc. The findings of the study revealed a new impoliteness strategy under the category of insult; non – personalized negative assertions which categorises instances of insults which follows Culpeper's formula; without the pronoun 'you'.

With regard to non–conventionalised impoliteness, a new strategy, discourse–driven, has been found. There are sixty seven instances of impoliteness found in the debates.

Thus, it can be concluded that most impoliteness strategies in the Malaysian political debates are discourse–driven.

Kecskes (2015) offers an interesting view on why Culpeper's framework does not include all examples of impoliteness. He argues that of impoliteness working differently in intercultural interactions especially in situations where the interlocutors are not communicating in their L1. It is generally agreed among researchers in the area of impoliteness that interpretation of impoliteness is based on context and no impolite event is inherently impolite (Bousfield, 2008; Culpeper, 2009, 2010, 2011; Haugh, 2011). Due to this, Culpeper based his framework on interpretation of impoliteness by the participants in his study (Culpeper, 2011). However, little has been mentioned about interlocutors who communicate impoliteness in a language which is not their L1. The debaters in the Malaysian political debate are non native speakers who have communicated mostly in English except in a few instances where the national language, Malay and Mandarin can be found (in the second debate). Therefore, this could be one of the reasons which explain the pattern of impoliteness strategies found in this data.

The way language is used in a different discourses, in this case debates; will be different for example, with a courtroom discourse. This, in turn affects the offensiveness taken from the impoliteness. Impoliteness does not necessarily results in offensiveness (Haugh, 2015). In certain contexts such as in the call centre discourse, impoliteness is sanctioned and the sting of impoliteness has been neutralised by the call centre agents (Archer and Jagodzin´ski, 2014). Similarly, in the discourse of debates, the number of impoliteness strategies does not translate into level of offensiveness.

Among the three Malaysian political debates, impoliteness occurs most in the second debate. There are fourteen instances of conventionalised impoliteness and seventy six instances of non–conventionalised impoliteness. The nature of the debate is very

combative with both opponents hurling impoliteness towards one another. As the debate is between two political parties representing the Chinese community, DAP and MCA. Both parties try their best to defame each other in an attempt to gather support especially since the general election was just around the corner. The high number of impoliteness strategies found in this debate could also indicate the possibility of the debate having an entertainment value. Culpeper (2011) calls this exploitative impoliteness. It refers to using impoliteness to entertain at the expense of the target of impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011, p.233). Culpeper (2011, p.234) also details five sources of pleasure that can arise from entertaining impoliteness which are emotional pleasure, aesthetic pleasure, voyeuristic pleasure, the pleasure of being superior and lastly the pleasure of feeling secure. Out of these five, impoliteness can be observed to have caused aesthetic pleasure and the pleasure of being superior. In terms of aesthetic pleasure, both debaters attack each other using impoliteness strategies. In Culpeper's (ibid.) words: "if one is attacked, one responds in kind or with a superior attack". In terms of the pleasure of being superior, this debate has succeeded in producing humour among audience which happens every time a debater attacks the other, and this gives a chance for audience to observe a debater in a worse state than the other.

The debate between AS and KJ is unique as KJ represents a political party whereas AS represents a NGO. AS represents Bersih, an NGO which aims to clean up the electoral roll in Malaysia. At the time of the debate, Bersih had just organised two street rallies, Bersih 2.0 in 2011 and Bersih 3.0 in 2012. It is widely claimed that Bersih 3.0 had gathered a turnout of 350 000 supporters (Malaysiakini, 2012) though the mainstream media reports a lower number of turnout. Due to the support Bersih has gathered from Malaysians, KJ who represents BN could not attack Bersih as an organisation or its demands for a clean election. Instead, his role has been to defend the Election Commissions (EC), which comes under the Prime Minister's department. In another

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words, EC is controlled by the ruling government, BN. Therefore, impoliteness is used mostly by AS. There are instances of KJ being impolite, but he targets AS personally and never once the organisation she represents. This is different from the other two debates, where impoliteness is often hurled at the political party the debater represents. The type of impoliteness found in the second debate is mainly affective impoliteness. Culpeper (2011:221) defines affective impoliteness as aggression that is an angry response to frustration and/or provocation. From Bersih's point of view, there seems to be a lot of anger and frustration towards the EC for allegedly not cleaning up the electoral roll. Jay (2000) categorises verbal aggression into "hostile aggression" and "instrumental aggression". In the debate between AS and KJ, hostile aggression is used by AS in which impoliteness is used to gain admiration. Her criticisms and insults are backed by studies conducted on Malaysian electoral roll or incidences reported in the media.

In the third debate, instances of impoliteness are hardly found. Altogether, there are only five examples. The context it was held, in London with Malaysian students studying abroad and some NGO leaders such as Datin Paduka Mahathir in the audience could have played a role. The debate presents constructive opinions on Vision 2020, done in a calm and non – combative manner.

4.2 Response option to impoliteness

In analysing response options, matching a response to an instance of impoliteness has been complex due to the nature of debates which involves longer turns. The debaters are allocated longer speaking time before their opponents gets a chance, and when their turn comes, they tend to concentrate on their own arguments. However, responses do occur. Bousfield's (2008) model of response options is used to analyse the responses to impoliteness in Malaysian political debates. In the following sections, examples of response options found in the debates will be discussed.

4.2.1 Accepting the Opponent's Position

There is only one instance of a debater accepting the opposing position. It comes from the first debate between KJ and AS. AS asks whether KJ can ascertain that all the demands by Bersih are fulfilled before the next general election. She continues by saying it may not be in KJ's hands which implies he does not have the power to do so as shown in Example 59.

AS's face damaging utterance in Turn 29 is accepted by KJ who further adds to the face

Example 59	D1 T27 L563	AS:	Are you... can I ask if you are giving a guarantee that all the demands of Bersih which are contained in the PSC will be implemented before the 13TH general election? That's all we want to hear. ((audience cheer)) is that what you are saying? ((clapping))
	D1 T28 L568	KJ:	Datuk(.) Datuk(.) Datuk
	D1T29 L569	AS:	May not be in your hands (Crowd laughing)
	D1 T30 L570	KJ:	Datuk, I know lah. You look down on me. I'm only the Youth Chief ((clapping and cheering from crowd)) but, you know, I came here to talk to you and although it's beyond my powers, but I give you my assurance that if you are asking for a meeting with across MP representations, with the Election Commission, I will try my best to make it happen ((clap)) And this is not on condition that you cancel the Saturday march.

damage by admitting that AS looks down on him and downplaying his position as the Youth Chief. He could have done this to add humour through the usage of 'lah' which KJ only uses once in this debate. His tone and the usage of 'lah', which is slang in Malaysian English, create humour. At the time of the debate, KJ did not hold any ministerial post. Therefore, he had little influence in the top decision making process as AS implies in Turn 29. Culpeper et al. (2003, p. 1562) says accepting a face attack intensifies the effect of face damage. However, in this context, if KJ had defended himself, it could have created further face damage as it is a common knowledge among the audience that KJ was not a minister under Prime Minister Najib's administration. Therefore, accepting the FTA could be a way of limiting face damage, especially in the context shown above.

4.2.2 Usage of defensive strategies

There are fifteen instances of debaters opting for defensive strategies in responding to impoliteness from their opponents. The findings indicate that there are two types of defensive strategies namely "offer an account – explain" and "plead". Both strategy stand on its own and do not merge with each other.

Table 4.2: Types of defensive strategies in the Malaysian political debates

Type of defensive strategy	Frequency
Offer an account – explain	14
Plead	1
Total	**15**

As can be observed from the data, "offer an account – explain" is the preferred defensive strategy in the Malaysian political debates. This is expected in debates as opposing parties strive to explain their side of the argument. With regard to the response

option 'plead', there is only one example which shows it is not a preferred defensive strategy.

4.2.2.1 Offer an account – explain

Six examples of "offer an account- explain" will be discussed. The first example is from the first debate between AS and KJ. The issue being debated revolves around 42 000 voters who are considered 'dodgy' voters by AS since the National Registration Department has classified them as inactive.

Example 60	D1 T4 L264	AS:	It's with the lame excuse of the EC that they cannot do anything about it
	D1 T6 L303	KJ:	Why the EC wont strike out the names is precisely because of the 1248 which appeared suddenly

AS hurls criticism by saying the Election Commission (EC) gives a 'lame excuse' for not acting on the 42 000 voters. In response to the impoliteness by AS, KJ offers an explanation on why the EC did not strike off the 42 000 names. He goes on to explain that out of the 42 000, in 1248 cases, there are people who came forward to explain their whereabouts and this is why the EC did not strike everyone in the 42 000. Responses such as these are common in the first debate particularly because KJ is in a position where he needs to defend the EC as the EC comes under the jurisdiction of the BN government.

Example 61	D2 L23 T420	LGE:	It is the policies of Barisan Nasional that does not allow the people of Malaysia to excel.
	D2 L24 T441	CSL:	In the question of restructuring of the society, so that no particular race is identified with economic activities, we have also achieved

<table>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>certain **success.** No non-Malays dare to say that all of us have not benefited from the New Economic Policy.</td></tr>
</table>

In the example above, LGE blames the policies of Barisan Nasional for hindering growth among Malaysians which causes offence to both BN and MCA. In CSL's response to the impoliteness, he points out how BN has a positive impact on people's lives. He uses the word 'success' to defend BN and goes on to explain BN's contribution in restructuring the society and in making sure the NEP benefits everyone. He mentions non − Malays in particular as the second debate is between MCA and DAP, where the audience is mainly Chinese.

<table>
<tr><td>**Example 62**</td><td>D1 T3 L258</td><td>KJ:</td><td>Ladies and gentleman, just one concrete example, on what fundamental basis, you, Datuk Ambiga are telling people to go out on Saturday is not only untrue but it is a misinterpretations of the facts if you look for it properly.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>D1 T4 L273</td><td>AS:</td><td>Now, let me tell you, under the law, Regulation 13, give them the power, they are supposed to revise the supplementary roll every three months. For the purpose of revising the supplementary roll, and to determine whether the person is, there is a procedure.</td></tr>
</table>

In Example 62, KJ uses accusation as the impoliteness strategy to cause face damage to AS. He accuses AS of being 'untrue' and guilty of 'misinterpretations of the facts'. KJ is referring to the 42 000 voters who are considered dodgy by AS but KJ argues that these 42 000 are people who did not update their Identity Card (IC).The impoliteness aims to portray AS negatively especially considering that the Bersih 2.0 rally was just around the corner.

In her response, AS offers explanation by quoting the particular rule (Regulation 13) which gives EC the authority to strike out the names of the 42 000 people. AS's action

can be seen as trying to lessen the face damage caused by KJ's impoliteness by explaining the particular rule which gives the EC the authority to remove voters from the electoral roll.

Example 63	D1 T11 L353	KJ:	I'm saying that you are going out based on a series of misreprentations for which I don't have the time to go through one by one. I'm picking certain cases.
	D1 T14 L403	AS:	The difference between you and me YB is that you believe what the EC says. We don't and a lot of people don't. And I give you reasons for that.

Throughout the debate, KJ accuses AS of misrepresenting the facts and figures related to the EC which causes impoliteness to AS. In example 2, he is addressing the audience who are supporters of Bersih and those who are planning to attend the upcoming Bersih rally at the time of the debate. He claims the supporters are attending the rally because they believe the facts given by Bersih, which according to KJ are misrepresentations of facts.

In responding to the accusation, AS uses the pronoun 'you and me' which translates into Bersih (AS is the President) and BN (KJ is the UMNO Youth leader). She is trying to explain that the main difference between them is that KJ's position requires him to defend the EC whereas she and her supporters do not due to various reasons. Her explanation can be seen as an attempt to redress the face damage caused by KJ.

Example 64	D1 T21 L462	AS:	Because of all the evidence that we have seen, as far as we are concerned, this is going to be the dirtiest election. This is our fear.

	D1 T22 L499	KJ:	And if you really want to go down to detail one by one, you say you leave it to the experts, ok, Ong Kian Beng said, among other things, he said there were new army and postal voters who are above recruitment age which is 30 years old. Initially, I thought these are people who were reservist, who joined regular army and they are allowed to join over 30 years old but they were not. They were on the latest roll...

AS uses 'dirtiest election' which could refer to the ruling Government (BN) clinging to power by using various tactics to win the GE. Her pointed criticism causes impoliteness to KJ who represents BN and the EC. In his response, KJ repeats most of the points debated earlier by giving further explanation on how the EC is playing its role in cleaning up the electoral roll. His action can be seen as an attempt to lessen the face damage caused by AS's criticisms.

Example 65	D2 T2 L108	LGE:	The DAP believe the policies of our party and Pakatan Rakyat represents the future of our children whereas the policies of Barisan Nasional and MCA represents the past.
	D2 T6 L147	CSL:	Ladies and gentleman, MCA has been involved in nation building from day 1. We were the one involved in the fight against Communist. The fight for Independence. The right of citizenship from birth. That is why Lim Kit Siang and Lim Guan Eng are citizens of this country. We lay down the foundation of Malays, Indian and Chinese working together to make sure that this nation works and progress. We directed the direction and the integration.

In D2 T2 L64, LGE uses the strategy discredit ability to cause impoliteness to MCA. He describes MCA as a party which represents the past, indicating it does not apply to the future generation. His statement discredits the ability of MCA. CSL responds in Turn 6 as Turn 3 involves the Moderator reminding LGE that the time allocated for him has finished. In Turn 4, LGE continues which

In his response, CSL explains the contributions of MCA towards the country's development. He starts with the party's contribution prior to independence and moves on to explain the role of MCA is fighting for independence. He then includes both Lim Kit Siang (Lim Guan Eng's father) and LGE into his explanations by stating their citizenship is due to MCA's struggle. CSL's explanation can be seen as rebutting LGE's claim by giving explanations to show MCA's relevance in the country's political landscape.

| **Example 66** | D3 T2 L48 | RR: | You have seen more and more instances of racially divisive controversies. **We have heard a lot more than necessary from PERKASA for example, which Khairy will agree with me and this does not bode well.** |
| | D3 T6 L202 | KJ: | My last point is this, and this one I will agree with Rafizi, which is about unity, I think this is one single biggest challenge for us today. I have not gone to Ibrahim Ali and PERKASA. I disagree with their politics. I disagree with their politics of divisiveness. But, it is not just PERKASA. It is not only people on the right wing. It is not only people who refuse to say I 'm Malaysian first. |

In the third debate, RR talks about controversies created by Perkasa which stands for Persatuan Pribumi Perkasa. The party was formed by Ibrahim Ali and Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamed, the former Prime Minister is the advisor (The Star, 2014). Due to Tun Dr. Mahathir's involvement, Perkasa has been linked with UMNO. Perkasa has also been linked with controversies involving racial and religious provocations which RR refers to as 'heard a lot more than necessary'. RR's action of bringing up the issue of Perkasa can be seen as trying to place Perkasa equivalent to UMNO and this causes impoliteness to KJ who represents UMNO.

In his response, KJ stresses on the importance of unity and states his disagreement with Perkasa. Though Perkasa is strongly associated with BN, KJ disassociates himself from

the organization by stressing on the importance of saying 'I'm Malaysian'. His explanation can be seen as trying to minimize the face damage caused by Perkasa.

4.2.2.2 Plead

There is only one example of plead in the data. The example is from AS in the first debate. AS uses the response strategy 'plead' when KJ repeatedly accuses her of misrepresenting the facts and figures which can mean she is also misrepresenting the people.

Example 67	D1 T39 L675	KJ:	Please do not misrepresent, Datuk Ambiga
	D1 T43 L681	AS:	I have held my counsel for the number of times you used the word misrepresentation on me.

The word 'misrepresent' implies AS is lying or saying something she lacks evidence for. As she was the President of Bersih (at the time of the debate), this causes impoliteness and is seen as threatening her positive face. In her response, AS says she has held her counsel which can be taken as asking KJ to stop using the word 'misrepresenting' against her. "When an interactant pleads, they are damaging *their own* positive face, in order to avoid the perceived threat of greater face damage" (Bousfield, 2008, p. 200). In the example above, AS's choice of using 'plead' as her response, as opposed to using an offensive strategy, can be seen as damaging her positive face, in this context, her public self-image.

4.2.3 Use of offensive strategies

In the study, there are five instances of offensive strategies used as responses to impoliteness. Two examples will be discussed.

Example 68	D2 T2 L95	LGE:	Tiap – tiap tahun dapat bukan macam Barisan Nasional, lima tahun sekali atau BRIM RM500 50 tahun sekali (*Get every year, unlike Barisan Nasional who gives five year once or BRIM RM500 50 years once*)
	D2 T6 L164	CSL:	Every day, you tell the whole world you are giving RM100 to the old people. MCA also gives RM100 to our members.

In example 68, the impoliteness occurs in Turn 2 but the response in Turn 6. This is because in Turn 3, the moderator interjects to remind the timing, LGE continues talking in Turn 4, and in Turn 5, the moderator invites CSL to speak. Both parties discuss financial aid given by the government. In D2 T2 L57, LGE mocks the financial aid given by BN through BRIM (Bantuan Rakyat 1Malaysia). In response to this, CSL mocks the financial aid given by the DAP government of Penang. The phrase 'tell the whole world' implies that DAP brags about the aid given. He further mentions the amount, RM100, which is less than the aid given by BN (RM500), to further add to the face damage. Another example of offensive response strategy is shown below.

Example 69	D2 T6 L188	CSL:	Where has all the money you have collected gone to?
	D2 T20 L369	LGE:	You talk about donations from the public. DAP, unlike Barisan Nasional, when we organise dinners, we don't give free dinners like MCA. We charge for the dinner. RM20 RM30 because we depend on public fund to survive. We don't steal the Government's money.

In the example above, impoliteness occurs in Turn 6 while response is in Turn 20. In between Turn 6 and 20, LGE does not mention anything on the subject of donations collected by DAP. Examples such as these occur in Malaysian political debates, in which impoliteness is not immediately followed by a response.

In turn 6, CSL is referring to the money collected by DAP from the people. The unpalatable question points to corruption and therefore causes face loss to LGE. In his response, LGE uses an offensive strategy as he accuses MCA of being able to give free dinners due to the money stolen from the Government as can be observed from the statement 'steal the Government's money'.

4.2.4 Use of defensive and offensive strategies

There are only two examples from the Malaysian political debates in which both defensive and offensive strategies are utilised. The first example is discussed below.

Example 70	D2 T2 L46	LGE:	Malangnya Datuk Seri Najib enggan berbahas dengan Anwar(.) *(Unfortunately Datuk Seri Najib refused to debate with Anwar)*
	D2 T6 L128	CSL:	Saya hendak mengatakan di sini, kita tidak menggalakkan Datuk Seri Najib berdebat dengan Anwar sebab beliau adalah Perdana Menteri. *(I would like to say here, we do not encourage Datuk Seri Najib to debate with Anwar because he [Najib] is the Prime Minister)*

At the time of the debate, Anwar, who was the Leader of Opposition, issued an invitation for an open debate to the Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib, which the latter declined. LGE uses 'unfortunately' to describe Datuk Seri Najib's refusal for a debate which is sarcasm aimed at BN. In his response to LGE, CSL defends the Prime

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Minister. The pronoun 'we' could refer to his party, MCA, or to him and his fellow Ministers in Najib's administration. This is done to defend Datuk Seri Najib and to show that the decision was a collective one.

Following this, CSL says 'because he is the Prime Minister', implying that there is power imbalance between the Prime Minister and the Leader of Opposition. He is elevating Datuk Seri Najib's position and this could mean Anwar lacks the credentials to debate with a Prime Minister. His reply could cause loss of face for LGE and PR. Therefore, his response can be considered offensive.

Example 71	D2 T2 L83	LGE:	BN has never spoken truthfully to the people
	D2T6 L136	CSL:	Dan kita tepati segala janji bukan macam janji-janji kosong dari Pakatan Rakyat.
			(We fullfill all our promises, unlike empty promises from Pakatan Rakyat)

In D2 T2 L49, BN is accused of not being truthful, implying that the party makes empty promises. In his reply, CSL defends BN by saying his party does fulfil its promises. He then accuses Pakatan Rakyat of making empty promises. So, CSL first defends his party and then he chooses to be offensive towards his opponent by accusing them of not fulfilling their promises.

4.2.5 Use of accepting, defensive and offensive response strategies

An example from the debate between KJ and RR reveals an interesting example where there are instances of three response strategies, namely: accepting, defensive and offensive as shown in Example 72.

Example 72	D3 T13 L329	RR:	Well, it's jolly good to hear everything that YB Khairy said. I wish you are the Home Minister. I wish. But you are not. And that is where my next question is... In fact, because you are not appointed to the Cabinet, you have very little clout on how much you can influence the policy and that's why I pity you... So my question is with all these obstacles, with all the potential contribution that you can make to the society, to the younger generation, have you ever thought about perhaps in this battle, you will find a better home in Pakatan Rakyat? You look like us. Your aims are like our agenda and most of the time you sound like us. Have you ever decided on that especially after the election?
	D3 T14 L351	KJ:	<u>Thank you very much for that Rafizi.</u> I sound like you, I look like you…. <u>I won't be caught in that sweater though</u> (laughter). But seriously speaking, <u>thank you very much.</u> I expected come here, slugfest with Rafizi and I what I get is an invitation to join his political party. I would consider my KPI met. No, having said that, serious point, having said that it's, it's, I always get this, you know, ahh you are Ketua Pemuda but you are nothing, no post…(laughter) What are you doing there? I believe in a reformation within my party.

RR uses sarcasm to put down KJ's role in BN by associating his failure to be appointed to the Cabinet with his lack of influence in the party. On top of this, he asks whether KJ will join the Opposition after the election to indicate BN is going to lose, in the upcoming election. In his reply, KJ starts by saying 'thank you' which is a conventionally polite response. So, this can be seen as KJ accepting the face attack. But, he does not stop there. He proceeds to say "I sound like you, I look like you…. I won't be caught in that sweater though" which on the surface doesn't sound offensive. KJ is drawing a comparison to the physical attributes of him and RR in 'look like you'. He then proceeds to talk about the sweater RR is wearing. KJ comes in a complete suit which creates a professional look. Therefore, saying he will not 'be caught in that sweater' can be seen as insulting RR. Therefore, it is considered offensive to RR.

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In his defence, KJ thanks RR again. But, as this comes after using an offensive strategy, it can be seen as defensive. The strategy used is insincere remarks. Insincere remarks takes place when one offers surface agreement (Bousfield, 2007, p. 2201). This strategy is not considered as accepting because it the utterance only seems to be polite on the surface and it is done to defend oneself. KJ continues to defend himself by explaining his contributions and role in his party.

4.2.6 Uncategorised response options

Among the types of response options found in the Malaysian political debates, uncategorised response options form the largest number; as shown in Table 4.2. These response options cannot be categorised as the debaters are neither countering nor denying the impoliteness. The nature of debates plays a crucial part. First of all, identification of responses is complex due to the longer turns. The debaters are allocated longer speaking time before the other debater gets a chance to speak and when their turn comes, they tend to argue on their own respective arguments. A longer turn makes it difficult to 'match' an instance of impoliteness with the exact response. If the issue in the response is similar to that in the impoliteness, then it is easier to pair them together as in the case of the twenty three responses where debaters respond by accepting it or with defensive or offensive strategies. Therefore, identifying a particular utterance as a response to impoliteness is complex as shown in the example below.

| **Example 73** | D2 T2 L89 | LGE: | Why is the Prime Minister afraid in revealing his assets and the assets of his business? Does Barisan Nasional does not dare to declare your assets because |

| | you have too many to hide or too many car numbers to hide? |

In the excerpt from the second debate above, impoliteness clearly occurs as there is an accusation of corruption which causes face damage to CSL, who is representing BN. However, in his turn to debate, CSL does not mention anything regarding the issue of the Prime Minister and BN leaders declaring their assets. He instead talks about the achievements of the Prime Minister, and BN, among other things. So, while he clearly does not respond to the issue, he also does not stay silent. The excerpt above illustrates one of the 50 examples found in the debates where the debaters neither accept nor deny the FTA. Therefore, to analyse response strategies for these instances of impoliteness, Bousfield's (2008) model of response options needs to be further refined.

4.2.6.1 Use of react as a response strategy

Dobs and Blitvich (2013) analysed responses to impoliteness among face threat witnesses in polylogal interaction. In order to analyses response options among face threat witnesses, Dobs and Blitvich (2013) proposed certain refinements to Bousfield's (2008) model of response.

In the present study, seventy nine responses have a similar pattern to the responses of face threat witness in the study by Dobs and Blitvich (2013). The debaters do not counter or accept the impoliteness but they do react to the impoliteness. The excerpt below illustrates an example from the debate between AS and KJ.

Example 74	D1 T2 L57	AS:	So you have spouses of army, police who are of the same gender, same sex marriages who are unidentified (laugh).
	D1 T3	KJ:	My problem is misrepresentations. Now, listen to these few examples. She mentioned this great big 42 000 the Election Commission themselves has come out to say these 42 000 are dodgy voters. If you want to be exact here, 42 000 fraud, fraud. It says fraud. Let me explain the history of these 42 051 cases of voters who are considered dodgy.
	L208		

In D1 T2 L28, AS talks about fraud by the Election Commission (EC), citing an example of spouses of army and police personnel who are of the same gender. Same sex marriage is not legal in Malaysia, which adds further to the impoliteness. In responding to the impoliteness, KJ lists out all the EC's efforts to clear up the electoral roll. He also 'attacks' AS by accusing her of misrepresentations (D1 T3 L116). Though he can be seen as using an offensive strategy to respond to AS's accusations, it is difficult to ascertain whether the utterance is a response to what she said earlier or if KJ is merely building up his case by accusing her of misrepresentations, which is common in debates. Taking into consideration that KJ does not comment on AS's statement in D1 T2 L28, it can be concluded that he uses react as his response strategy.

| **Example 75** | D1 T3 L193 | KJ: | You are pre judging it and most importantly, you are misinterpreting the people, now why are they going out? |
| | D1 T4 L285 | AS: | And I want an answer to all other issues that have been raised by researchers in this area. It took three months to do that research. |

KJ's insult in D1 T3 L107 uses the word 'pre judging' and 'misinterpreting' which clearly indicate impoliteness. In her response, AS does not answer KJ's question. She talks about other issues, the wrongdoings by the EC. She explains EC's shortcomings

and relates it to research to validate her claims. Therefore, as AS neither defends nor offends her opponent, she has chosen the response option, react, to respond to impoliteness from KJ.

Example	D2 T23	LGE:	Di Pulau Pinang, kita telah buktikan. Kontraktor Melayu boleh berdaya saing mengapa tidak seluruh Malaysia? Kontraktor Barisan Nasional yang jahat. Mereka mesti dihapuskan.
76	L429		*(In Penang, we have proved. Malay contractors can compete so why not all over Malaysia? Barisan Nasional contractors are bad. They mush be eliminated)*
	D2 T24	CSL:	When you talk about the New Economic Policy, there is no denying that we have succeeded in reducing poverty in this country irrespective of race... But along the way, i agree, there has been hijacks (cheer). That I agree. But, knowing the problem is one thing. That s the reason why Datuk Seri Najib says, "The implementation of policies should be based on needs and merits".
	L438		

In the example above, LGE claims Barisan Nasional (BN) contractors are corrupt. Since MCA is part of the BN coalition, the FTA is directed to CSL as well especially when he says 'they have to be eliminated'. In his response, CSL explains the benefits the people have reaped from BN's policies before admitting that there have been 'hijacks'. He does not explain what he means by 'hijack' and whether he is referring to BN contractors or BN policies, the two things LGE argues on in Turn 23. Despite the ambiguity, it is clear that CSL does not respond, it is unclear whether the response is to offend LGE or to defend himself from the FTA. Again, what is clear in this example is CSL's response option has been to 'react'.

| **Example 77** | D2 T29 L540 | LGE: | We will make English a compulsory subject to pass in SPM. So we can improve the standard of English among Malaysians. Does Barisan Nasional dare to take up this offer or not? |
| | D2 T31 L570 | CSL: | That Lim Guan Eng's government is a fake one if he can promise everybody got education. It is a fake one. It's a sham I can tell you |

LGE challenges CSL as can be observed from the usage of the word 'dare'. His question discredits the ability of BN and CSL. In responding to the impoliteness, CSL does not debate on the issue of English at all. Instead, he uses pointed criticism through the usage of words such as 'fake' and 'sham' to attack CSL. His choice of response option can be categorised as react since he chooses to respond but does not defend or offend LGE regarding the issue of English language.

| **Example 78** | D3 T8 L243 | RR: | Datuk Seri Najib seems to be getting hints from the people as if he understands and listens but he doesn't have the decisiveness and leadership to do what is necessary. |
| | D3 T9 L260 | KJ: | If we do not repel the ISA, in March, when the Parliamentary seating, when Parliament opens for its first seating, then we are walking into this election without fulfilling one of the most important promises Prime Minister has said. |

In D3 T8 L153, RR discredits Datuk Seri Najib by describing him as lacking 'decisiveness and leadership' which undermines his ability as the Prime Minister. His statement causes impoliteness not only to the Prime Minister and BN, but also to KJ who is representing BN. In his response, KJ talks about the processes involved in repelling the ISA and the magnitude of this decision in terms of securing the people's rights. Though his response seems like he is defending the Prime Minister, he chooses e a different issue (ISA) as opposed to defending the Prime Minister's ability with regard to decisiveness and leadership. Therefore, RR's response option is react.

4.2.7 Summary of RQ2's findings

Under this section, I aim to present the response options found in the Malaysian

political debates. The response options are categorised according to the different

debates. Table 4.3 presents the findings of the study in terms of response options.

Table 4.3: Response options in Malaysian political debates

				Debate 1 (AS vs KJ)	Debate 2 (CSL vs GE)	Debate 3 (KJ vs RR)	Total	Percentage (%)
Did Not Respond to FTA				0	0	0	0	0
Responded to FTA	Accepted Opposing Position			1	0	0	1	1
	Countered		Defensive Strategies	6	9	0	15	15
			Offensive Strategies	1	4	0	5	5
			Combination of Defensive and Offensive Strategies	0	2	0	2	2
			Combination of Accepting, Defensive and Offensive Strategies	0	0	1	1	1
	***React**			30	45	4	79	79

*Response options which is not part of Culpeper et al. (2003)

There are one hundred instances of impoliteness. Hence, the number of responses is also similar. All debaters choose to respond to impoliteness. None stay silent or walk away. There are twenty instances of 'denied opposing position'. Out of the twenty, fifteen responses are defensive while five are offensive. There are two examples of combination of defensive and offensive strategies. A combination of 'accepting', 'defensive' and 'offensive' strategies is also found in the third debate. This finding is in line with the combative nature of debates where opponents attack each other's viewpoints. However, the finding also revealed an example of instances of a debater accepting the opposing position which occurs in the first debate.

In summary, among all the response option, react is the preferred response option among the debaters in the Malaysian political debates. The response option react is not included in Bousfield's (2008) framework. Dobs and Blitvich (2013) proposed a framework in which react is part of response option for face threat witness. The framework in Figure 4.1 illustrates the finding of the second research question of this study.

Figure 4.1: Response options in Malaysian political debates
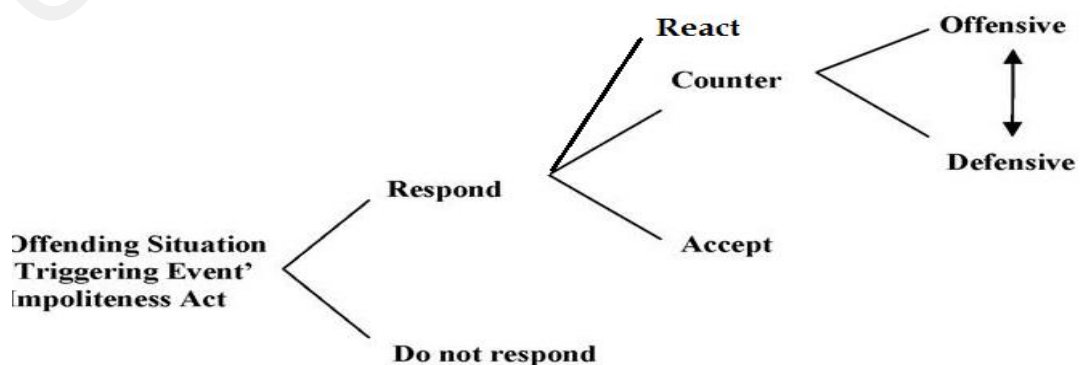
There are seventy nine instances of debaters using react as response options and this forms the highest number among the response option used in the debates. One of the main reasons for this could be tied to the nature of turn taking in debates which revolves around longer turns. Debaters are keen on harping on each other, in a bid to prove their worth as opposed to replying to each other's accusations. Another reason is possibly the format of the debate itself, where debaters are first given a few rounds to argue their points followed by question and answer session from the member of the audience which is evident in all three debates. Once the question and answer session starts, there is little room for the debaters to respond to each other as they are responding to questions from the audience. The nature of politics also makes it complex for a direct 'impoliteness – response' pattern to occur as both parties are representatives of organisations or political parties which are tied to one another. For example, MCA is tied with UMNO and BN.

On the other hand, debaters who choose to respond (twenty) opt to deny the impoliteness by providing explanation to defend them and more importantly, the party they represent. The timing of these debates, which were held close to the general election, makes it necessary for the debaters to portray a positive image in order to garner votes.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the study. It includes sections on the conclusions derived from the study in terms of impoliteness strategies and response options, implications, and recommendations for future research in the field of impoliteness research and wraps up with a summary.

5.1 Impoliteness Strategies

The first objective of the study is to investigate impoliteness strategies in Malaysian political debates. Based on the finding of the study, a number of conclusions can be made.

This study revealed a range of impoliteness strategies used in the Malaysian political debates. With regard to conventionalised impoliteness, instances of insult, pointed criticisms, unpalatable questions and presuppositions, and message enforcers can be found. A new subsection under the category of insult; non – personalized negative assertions has been found from the data in the study. This new addition to the framework shows that in the context of debates, there is a possibility for insults to occur without the usage of the pronoun 'you'. In general, the number of conventionalised impoliteness found in the study is lesser (18%) than its counterpart; non–conventionalised impoliteness (82%). This proves that the debaters are not inclined towards using the conventionally impolite formulae; especially not in publicly televised debates held around the general election.

With reference to non–conventionalised impoliteness, there are instances of form–driven and convention–driven from the political debates. The findings of this study unveiled a new impoliteness strategy; discourse–driven. Under the category of discourse-driven, there are sixty seven instances of impoliteness (67%), the highest among all the other impoliteness strategies. This comes to show that debates as a discourse presents its own linguistic aspects which is unique on its own. Based on the data, discourse–driven has been categorised under two subsections. The first is to discredit ability and the second is accusations. As illustrated in Chapter 4, all examples of impoliteness are first analysed according to Culpeper's (2011) framework. The category of discourse-driven is the result of instances of impoliteness which do not fit into Culpeper's framework. Having said that, the examples which fit in Culpeper's (2011) framework can fit in the category of discourse-drive too, but not vice versa. For instance, pointed criticisms such as, "this is going to be the dirtiest election" (D1 T21 L283) fits the description of accusations which comes under discourse-driven. Therefore, it is possible for the instances of impoliteness which fits Culpeper's framework to also belong in the category of discourse – driven.

While the study has highlighted the need to include discourse–driven as a category under non– conventionalised impoliteness, the subcategories are amenable. This is because the subcategories are the product of the analysis of data from debates. Therefore, an analysis of a different discourse, for example the discourse between doctors and patients may yield a different set of subcategories. It is believed that such flexibility in impoliteness research will pave the way for the analysis of a wider range of discourse.

5.2 Response Options

The second objective of the study is to investigate response options in the Malaysian political debates. All the debaters in the study choose to respond to impoliteness. None of them stay silent or walk away. Responding to impoliteness is common and is an expected phenomenon in debates, especially political debates which are held close to the general elections. In addition to the response options by Culpeper et al. (2003), the findings of the study uncovered 'react', as a new response option. 'React' involves responding to impoliteness by neither accepting nor denying. Most debaters in the Malaysian political debate choose to react to impoliteness. There are instances of debaters using defensive and offensive options as illustrated in Chapter 4 but most response options fall under the category 'react'. To understand the reason behind this, the nature of debates need to be taken into account. Debates are combative where debaters are keen on attacking each other, as opposed to using the time allocated to answer to every accusations made by the opponent. However, not all debates are combative in nature as in the case of the third debate in this study, which is between KJ and RR. Both opponents are keen on explaining more on the issue from different point of view, and paid less attention on attacking each other. Thus, instances of impoliteness are rarely found. However, it can be summarised that the discourse of debates offers a new response strategy, 'react' which has been most frequently used by the debaters in the political debates.

5.3 Implications

The current study looks at both impoliteness and response options. Both are interrelated. As Dobs and Blitvich (2013) argue, one of the best ways to analyse impoliteness is to focus on participants' responses as the impolite act occurs. In the political debates, all the debaters responded to impoliteness. This comes to prove that impoliteness does

occur. Unlike day to day conversation in which participants often choose to either defend or offend as response strategy, debaters prefer to react as most impoliteness revolves around allegation of corruption or lack of leadership.

The finding of this study is in line with researchers who take a discursive approach to impoliteness, such as, Mills (2003) and Locher and Watts (2008). They argue that impoliteness should be analysed based on "how the lay person's conception of impoliteness is revealed in their discourse, and not on how the lay person's discourse fits a conception devised by academics" (Culpeper, 2011, p. 7). As shown in this study, the discourse of political debates revealed impoliteness strategies which are not included in Culpeper's (2011) framework. This can be attributed to the fact that Culpeper (2011) based his framework on his informant's reports of impolite experiences. As such, in another type of discourse, different impoliteness strategies could be revealed.

As illustrated in this study, impoliteness does not necessarily go through the three phases as pointed out by Bousfield (2007) - beginning, middle and end. In the Malaysian political debates, a debater starts off with impoliteness aimed towards the opponent, and when it's the opponent's turn to debate, impoliteness is again utilised to cause face attack. This goes on until the moderator announces question and answer session which targets only one of the debater at a time before another question is posed to the other debater. The ending of impoliteness is when the debate itself ends. Therefore, it is difficult to find a pattern in which impoliteness unfolds, especially with a beginning, middle and ends. Bousfield (2007) also describes a triggering event which may cause impoliteness. In political debates, finding the trigger can be complicated. For example, what triggers impoliteness from KJ to AS in the first debate? It could be the acclaimed support by Malaysians to Bersih's cause as can be observed from Bersih's street rallies. AS could also be seen as a person who is opposing the BN government, as

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her attacks on the EC (during press conferences) means attacking BN (EC comes under the purview of the Department). Hence, determining the trigger is complicated as the opponents in all the three debates share a history which extends far beyond the context of these three debates.

5.4 Recommendations

While this research covers impoliteness and response options in political debates, there is still much to explore. One area is the relationship between impoliteness and taking offence. As shown by Archer and Jagodzinski (2015), in certain context such as call centres, impoliteness is sanctioned and neutralised. Therefore, not all instances of impoliteness translate into causing offence. One could look if the same scenario occurs in political debates.

Another aspect will be the role of the audience. The present study focuses only on the debaters but in the context of a debate, audience play a significant role. Through visual, gestural and linguistics tactics, they are continuously responding to the debaters. For future research, one could look at the role of audience in the construction of impoliteness. Audience's clapping, whistling or mumbling are all responses to the debaters and therefore play a significant role.

Another aspect closely tied to impoliteness in debates is the entertainment value. There are many instances in the debates where the audience laugh. One could add on to research on impoliteness by analysing one of the theories in humour; for example, the superiority theory with examples of impoliteness in debates.

5.5 Summary

This study addresses a new phenomena in Malaysian political landscape – political debates. Impoliteness has mainly been used as accusations and to discredit the ability of opponents. There are several points highlighted in this study. To begin with, this study determines the importance of analysing different types of discourse for impoliteness. A discourse which revolves around day to day discourse will not yield a similar result with a political discourse. With regard to responses, this study has ascertained the possibility of debaters using react as a response strategy.

This study also strengthens the role culture plays in determining one's choice of words. The words used in Culpeper's formulaic conventional impoliteness are words which are less common in Malaysian culture. Therefore, instances where such words are used are not much in the debates. In addition, in terms of language, Malaysian is non-native speakers. Therefore, this study has shown the impoliteness strategies and response options used by non -native debaters.

At the same time, the findings are not generalisable as the current study only looks at three political debates. Other political debates in Malaysian context may reveal a different set of impoliteness and response strategies, particularly debates in another language such as Malay, Mandarin or Tamil.

Concurrently, the area of impoliteness requires further exploration. It is hoped that the current study is able to provide new insights into the area of impoliteness, particularly in the context of Malaysian political debates.

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Appendix A

Jefferson's (2004) Transcription Symbols

Symbol	Explanation	Example
[	A left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset.	KJ:..you can't throw me out of my game by taking [photos] RR: [Unintentionally]
]	A right bracket shows the point at which two overlapping utterances end, if they end simultaneously, or the point at which one of them ends in the course of the other.	CSL: We ask where is the [meaning] LGE: [Answer]
=	Equal signs indicate no break or gap.	AS: That's the best we could do= KJ: =Just one point.
(.)	A dot in parentheses specifies a brief interval within or between utterances.	RR: Well, I think there have been attempts and those attempts are very commendable(.)
(( )) .	Doubled parentheses indicate aspects of the utterance such as laughter, whispers and coughing, clapping	AS: We want a set of people who are not going to behave like civil servants. That's all we are asking for ((clapping))
::	Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound.	LGE: Oh:: two right?
WORD	Upper case indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.	LGE: SHAME ON YOU MCA